KEEP STRONG

- Oakland: a base of operations
- N.Y.C.: popular government defaulted

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POWER IN THE CITY?

Who Has It?

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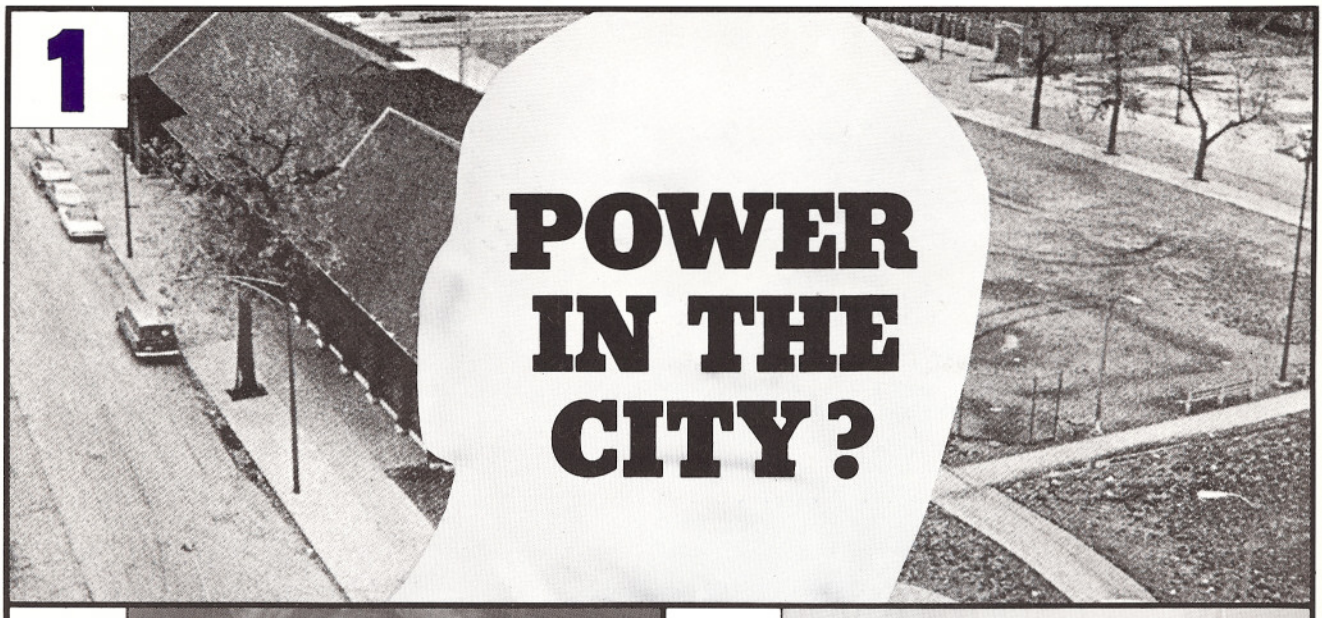

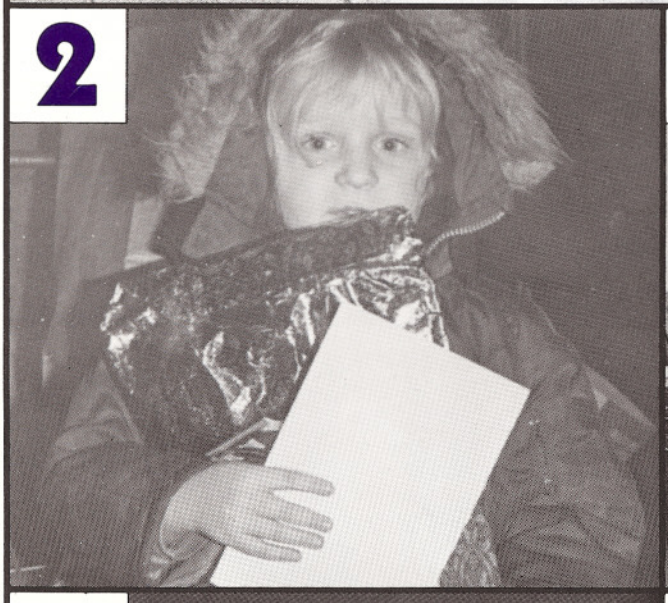

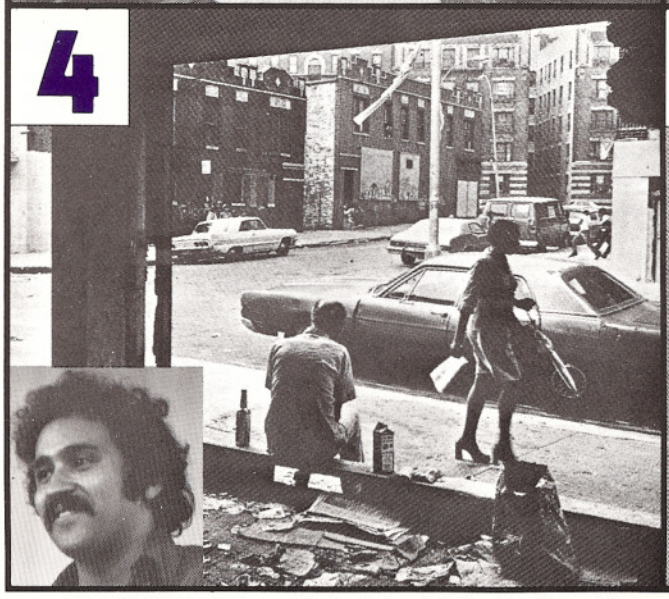

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In This Issue

1. The death of Daley has unleashed shifts and struggles in Chicago that for the first time in years threaten the Cook County democratic machine, raising the question: "Who really has the power in the city?" See page 22.

2. Christmas programs in Milwaukee and Chicago saw the oppressed community through another "Hard Times" Christmas. See page 32.

3. Elaine Brown leads a delegation in the Oakland community's bid for replacement low-income housing and 10,000 jobs. See page 26.

4. New York City's Emergency Financial Control Board has removed popular government. See page 30.

5. President-elect Jimmy Carter is not really the "outsider" he has purported to be. See page 34.

EDITORIAL

White But Not All Right

There used to be a saying, "If you're Black, get back; if you're Brown, turn around; but if you're White, you're all right." And while many things still work that way, there are some places and some days coming, where that way of thinking just won't work any more.

In spite of the fast moves in the Chicago city council by "Fast Eddie" Vrdolyak and company to stop the appointment of a Black temporary mayor last month, the handwriting is on the wall. By 1979, Chicago will have a Black mayor. Other cities are already run by Black-controlled city governments, and there will be more in the future. Some Whites we have talked to in Chicago feel it's only fair. "Their time has come, after all," they say. Others say, "If there is a Black mayor, I'm leaving town on the first bus out." But not enough poor and working Whites are asking the real question: "What will it mean for me, and what should I do about it?"

The fact is that if you are poor — and a lot of us are poor no matter what we may call ourselves — and you are White, then you are not all right. You have a problem. In cities from New York, to Cleveland, to Chicago, to Los Angeles, "they" are not interested in keeping us around. Those in power, those who own banks and corporations, have now decided to eliminate as many Black, Latino and poor and working Whites from the inner city as they can, replacing us with middle and upper-income Whites. Those who control the cities have let the blue collar jobs slip away. And they are tearing up our neighborhoods as fast as they can make a profit doing so.

Strong forces in the Black community are fighting this evacuation because they know there is no place else to go. There are no jobs waiting back south or outside the city limits. United together in the city, they are a powerful force to make their demands for decent jobs, decent health care, quality schools and other basic survival necessities heard. They are fighting to stay and fight where they have a chance to win.

Poor White people — whether working at jobs that pay too little and will probably disappear soon anyway, or trying to get by on welfare, disability or whatever — are in the worst position of all. With no political strength, our neighborhoods can be destroyed most quickly. As far as most people are

We need to make some decisions quickly. There are hundreds of thousands of us in cities like Chicago. We are not represented by the elite "ethnic" politicians. Time has proven that these men are out for themselves and a chosen few. We, as poor and working Whites in the city, have to choose our friends quickly.

concerned, poor White people don't even exist, so not much commotion is made when we suffer from unemployment.

We need to make some decisions quickly. There are hundreds of thousands of us in cities like Chicago. We are not represented by the elite "ethnic" politicians. Time has proven that these men are out for themselves and a chosen few. We, as poor and working Whites in the city, have to choose our friends quickly.

Our natural allies are in the Black and Latino communities. They are fighting the same power structure, the same system, the same threat of evacuation as we are. But they are better organized. And they are going to win because they are the majority in the city.

How will the Black community relate to the poor and working White community in the years to come? That depends on how we relate to the Black community now. If we do not organize in unity, and organize seriously, then the Black community will have to seek other allies, perhaps among the liberal or middle-class White business community. It is a question of survival and power to them.

Now we could always leave the city. But we better stop dreaming about "going back home." Just think about why you left there in the first place. The best chance we have is right here in the city with new allies and new friends, fighting for the same justice everyone has a right to.

We may have to try some new ways, but behind us is only being poor and being weak. Ahead of us is hope and the power of the people.□

ON THE STREET

"WHO HAS THE REAL POWER?"

Wanda Miller
N. Dover

"Right now ain't nobody doing nothing. I don't know if anybody makes any decisions but the mayor. Since he died ain't nobody making them. Maybe a few people got something to do with it, but not many. They make their own decisions."

Jose Green
S. Ada

"Daley's machine – he left all his people behind. They still got it. We ain't got nothing. They're not going to change. Now that's my opinion. In other words, the politicians are always going to have the power, to do what they want, how they want, when they want. We have no say, no matter how many times we vote."

Barney Berns
W. Wilson Ave.

"Politicians – right now it's all democrats and a few republicans. They control the whole city. Patronage – everything. They make the decisions. They make the changes – everything."

Charmaine Dime
N. Leclaire

"I know the people don't. I think the government and the politicians, higher up organizations, are running Chicago. I think the people should have more say so. I think the community and the people should have a part in it, because we're the ones that have to live here."

Martin Trevan
N. Kenmore

"I believe that it's not the people. It's supposed to be the people, but it's controlled by the city government. I know that. I don't think Mayor Daley would live around here. I don't think nobody else does – except for the alderman. Your alderman is supposed to live here in the community. I've never seen my alderman from the 48th ward. I don't know who he is in the 46th ward. I never see him."

Cisco Correa
N. McClean

"The people; in a way the people really make the decisions, because if they didn't really want it like this, they would just get together in the community and go see the alderman and talk to him from the block, from their neighborhood. I say people do have the power, but they don't enforce it. People in the White House use that power. They got the power to say "no" and "yes" and "maybe," and all we have to do is keep fighting to fix whatever we want . . . to take care of the streets."

Barbara Hollifield
W. Belmont

"The governor, not the governor, but the politicians – we don't. We can sit here and talk all day, but we don't have a thing. Poor people don't have it. People down there at city hall, they're the ones who decide how things are going to come no matter what. Us poor people ain't got a chance."

Tommy O'Connor
N. Kenmore

"The police, because they got the power to do anything they want with you when they want to, with or without any justification."

Lawanna Johnston
W. 14th

"The people of the city have the power, the real power."

Ben Austin
N. Magnolia

"The syndicate's the one that has the real power at this time. But they just elected the wrong man – Bilandic. They just discriminated against Frost. I think Frost should have been the man that should be mayor of this town, and that's the way Daley left it. If he ever passed away, Frost should have been the man to get it, but Frost came in second – he was already in second."

Al Brown
N. Hamden

"The people have the power in the city of Chicago, and little do they realize that they have it. Now, I'm into politics, and if it wasn't for the people of this town, the politicians wouldn't be in business. Once the people finally realize they do have the power, and they get off all their inferiority feelings, and all the people of all races start working together, then we can make this town, and maybe even someday this planet, a nice place to live in."

WELFARE RIGHTS

"I Don't Care If You Starve To Death"

(Chicago, Ill.) John and Mary Benton are from Naugatuck, West Virginia. They have lived most of the last 17 years in the Uptown community. In August, 1976, they moved out of Uptown to Fullerton Ave. on the near northwest side. Mary gets ADC for herself and four children. John is disabled and receives SSI (federal disability payments). They receive food stamps each month for the entire family which come with Mary's check but which are issued in John's name. When they moved they notified their caseworkers and had their cases transferred to the Humboldt Park office, the new district they had moved to.

Mary picked up her next check at the currency exchange. There were no food stamps. A food stamp worker at the Humboldt Park office issued them an emergency food stamp card and explained that their case was probably still in the process of being transferred.

Before their next rent was due, the Bentons received notice that their house was condemned, and they would have to move. They moved back to Uptown. It was time for another check. Again, there were no food stamps. They called the Humboldt Park office, the Uptown office, and finally Springfield where they were told that their case was still active in Uptown.

With this information the Bentons contacted Ms. Rita Schwartz, their old food stamp worker from Uptown. Insisting that she knew nothing about the case, Ms. Schwartz told the Bentons to go to the Humboldt Park office. Certain that she still had their case the Bentons demanded their food stamps. Ms. Schwartz insisted, "I can do nothing; I don't care if you starve to death; you move around too much."

After contacting the 46th Ward Community Service Center, the Bentons returned to the Uptown district office. Although Ms. Schwartz continued to deny that she knew anything about the case, another public aid caseworker found the Benton's file on her desk. Finally the Bentons received their food stamp card, including those they had previously been denied.

Later, the Bentons realized that they still hadn't received all that was due them. Because they had received an emergency food stamp card in September, the state had deducted the difference owed from the purchase card they now had. In effect, this meant that their new purchase card would give them less stamps at a lower purchase price. At first glance this seemed fair, but then they realized that they would have to

John and Mary Benton and their children were told by their caseworker; "I don't care if you starve to death, you move around too much."

pay more taxes. As Mary explained when she put in an appeal, "When I bought food I had to pay taxes on the food. I feel like I've been cheated." She said all the workers looked at her real hard, and three days later all their back stamps came in the mail.□

A Family Affair

(Chicago, Ill.) In the last year numerous examples of welfare fraud by doctors, pharmacists and the welfare bureaucracy itself have been exposed. At the same time the Illinois Department of Public Aid has increased redeterminations and investigations of those who receive welfare in the state. Their expressed reason has been to expose welfare fraud. There has been no explanation why so much effort is put into uncovering fraud by recipients, which where it does exist has been proven to be minor, while citizens' watch groups and local newspapers have constantly investigated and reported on the millions of dollars lost through white collar fraud.

According to state public aid director, James L. Trainor (right) the number of people receiving ADC payments dropped by 34,668 last year. The decline he said, was due to new standards for eliminating ineligible persons.

It is in this atmosphere that IDPA investigators have broken public aid policy, twisting state and federal laws to harass and intimidate families off public aid. Joanne Lowry and her entire family have been victims of this kind of intense harassment. Based on misinformation received over the phone and hearsay, the IDPA has harassed not only her, but her mother, her husband, her two sisters, her brother and even her son. Some members of the family have been cut off welfare without prior notice.

Investigators initially went to Ms. Lowry's mother's house even though her mother receives nothing from public aid, getting her income from the federal SSI program. They came back six times, asking questions about the entire family, and finally acceded that James Lowry, Joanne's separated husband, lived with his mother-in-law.

Then they went to Joanne's, who let them in. They had a tape recorder and told her that anything she told them could be held against her. They told her she was both working and drawing welfare checks in Kentucky, even though they had no documents or other proof to substantiate this. Joanne denied it. They asked about her older daughter who was in the apartment at the time. She told them that she lived upstairs and wasn't on welfare. Then they wanted to know where her daughter's husband worked.

Joanne said, "They came two to the back door and two to the front door. They had charts on everybody. They had my brother Chris Taylor as dead and my deceased brother Ronald as alive, and said I was lying. They asked if James, my husband, visited the children, how many times, and if he ever spent the night. They asked about my child support case and had the dates wrong on that, too. They asked if I had a boyfriend and wanted to know his name. They said I was supposed to be working, but they wouldn't say where.

"They cut my son off, said he was drawing checks in Kentucky. They never even sent him notice. They cut off my sister Diane without notice and on hearsay. They said her boyfriend was living with her. They accused my other sister Laura of drawing checks in Kentucky, even though she presented proof in writing that her Kentucky case was closed when she applied and was approved for ADC in Chicago. They threatened my mother with arrest if she was lying. They couldn't touch her check because it is federal. They also threatened my husband. They came to both my house and my sister Laura's 13 or 14 times. They'd stand across the street at the food market and pretend they were using the phone and watch our house for hours. Laura said, 'I didn't let them in; I don't let anybody in my house.' "□

TENANTS' RIGHTS

Tenants Union Makes Headway

(Chicago, Ill.) In January of 1976 a city-wide tenants conference was held in Chicago. Out of this conference the Uptown Tenants Survival Union was formed, dedicated to fight to preserve the low-income housing in the Uptown community on Chicago's northside. One of the principles as stated in point number 8 of the organization's ten point platform and program is: "We want tenant receivership of buildings for code-delinquent landlords. We believe that landlords who do not maintain their buildings up to building codes should have their buildings taken away from them and placed in the receivership of the tenants who would take over the management of the building, paying costs from their rents."

The following, which is a *KEEP STRONG* update of the various building struggles being carried on in Uptown, is a very good example of this principle being put into practice in the community.

4448 N. Magnolia

As tenants were preparing their defenses for evictions (See last month's issue of *KEEP STRONG*), Mr. Cantrell's attorney suddenly called and said that they were no longer interested in evicting anyone and that they were dropping all legal proceedings. This was indeed very strange, since just two weeks earlier this same attorney had carried on in a tirade just outside of the courtroom, vowing to fight this matter to the very end, if necessary.

Tenants at 4448 N. Magnolia have been relentless in tracking down their landlord and saving the building.

Subsequent to this incident it was learned that the building had changed ownership. Upon further investigation of the situation, the tenants learned that there had been a title transfer. A Mr. Bob Dockery then emerged claiming to be the new owner. A meeting was then held between the tenants and this "new owner." At this meeting Mr. Dockery promised to work on fixing up the building stating that all the money which the building generated would go into making the necessary repairs. He specifically stated that no family would be forced into the cold. However, only one week later the tenants were in the cold, as the gas company shut off services because the bill had not been paid. This all but confirmed the tenants' original suspicion — that Mr. Dockery, like Mr. Cantrell, was nothing more than another front for the notorious slumlord Charlie Roberts who, in fact, is the real owner of the building. Two days later, after the tenants had successfully talked the gas company into turning the gas on, Mr. Dockery came around and told each tenant that in two days all of the utilities would be turned off and that they all should move.

On December 30 the tenants went to court and worked out an agreement with the gas and electric companies and the city water department that they "will not terminate the respective services that they supply to the building unless directed to do so by the court." The tenants have served subpoena on Cantrell, Dockery and Roberts to insure that they appear in court on January 4. At this time they will demand an explanation, asking that the court order them to state what their true intentions toward the building are. If the tenants are not fully satisfied with their reply, they plan to ask the court for receivership of the building.

4751 N. Beacon

On December 1, James Flanagan was appointed receiver of this building by the court. This came about through a struggle initiated by the tenants. Through a series of legal actions in the courts, they showed the negligence of the owner Paul Wasylin, and control of the building was removed from him.

Repairs on 4751 N. Beacon have already begun. Tenant-manager Jason Meyers painted the outside while tenants have outlined other conditions to be improved.

The intentions of the tenants when they first came together was to improve their living conditions by demanding certain repairs, and to create a situation where they could have some voice in building affairs and be in a position to see to it that the repairs were being made. The appointment of the receiver has not altered these intentions.

The tenants have met with Mr. Flanagan, have succeeded in getting Jason Myers hired as the janitor (Mr. Myers has been in the forefront of this building struggle since the beginning), and have worked out a series of agreements, outlining the responsibilities of the tenants and the receiver, with the main priority being the immediate improvement of the living conditions of the tenants.

Although the appointment of Flanagan as the receiver does not exactly give the tenants control of the building, it does put them in a position of being able to use the rent money directly to deal with problems in the building and is a definate victory for the tenants of 4751 N. Beacon.

4506 N. Magnolia

On December 18 the tenants of the building contacted the Uptown Tenants Survival Union to inform it that the building had no heat. After a quick investigation it was discovered that the boiler had run out of oil. After contacting about 50 oil companies, volunteer workers were finally able to get oil delivered and the heat working again.

After this action had been completed, UTSU representatives tried to determine who was responsible for this neglect. The problem that has developed is that it cannot be clearly established who is legally responsible for the building. The mortgage holders were a Mr. Kring and a Ms. Paashe. However, they had sold the building on a contract over three years ago to a Mr. and Mrs. Gonzalez and a Mr. and Mrs. Barreiro. Yet, according to the tenants, a woman named Marion Melgareja has been collecting the rents for the last two months. This situation became more unclear once Mr. Kring was contacted. According to him, the Barreiros and the Gonzalez had defaulted on their contract since he had not received their payments the last four months, and according to his contract, they cannot transfer the contract to anyone else without his consent. Exactly who Ms. Melgareja is remains a mystery.

With the help of the UTSU and their attorneys, the tenants have agreed to open an escrow account at the bank and will pay all their rents into the account, using the money to pay the utility bills and to make necessary repairs in the building. This action will continue until the real owner can be legally established and proves willing to take some responsibility for the upkeep of the building.□

HUD Buildings Reflect Pattern Of Neglect

(Milwaukee, Wisc.) "Harassment is illegal. It's unjust to the people here." This is the way one tenant summarized the state of things at the Cleveland Terrace housing complex on Milwaukee's southside. In October, 1976, the 48 families who live at Cleveland Terrace and Main Street Gardens, two southside apartment projects, formed a joint tenant council. The purpose of the council is to give the tenants an organization to protect their rights which were rapidly being eliminated one by one before October. Both the projects come under the federal government's 236 housing program, and

Tenants on Milwaukee's southside have formed a tenant council to protect their rights.

both are owned and managed by a small time real estate sharpie in Milwaukee named Henry C. Pitt.

Henry Pitt is an operator. He is the monkey in the middle, between oppressed people who deserve decent housing and the federal government whose bureaucratic programs, riddled with loopholes, are gold mines for all kinds of hustlers. First came the builders. They charged the government as much as $90,000 to build three units, using second and third rate lumber, cut-rate plumbing and electrical equipment, paper thin plasterboard, and factory rejects for garbage disposals, exhaust fans, door frames and window frames. They made out like champs and laughed all the way to the bank.

Next came the management companies. Their game is even more profitable. They collect the rents and eliminate the services — extermination, garbage collection and maintenance — so they can pocket all the income from the building while the government insures the mortgage. The buildings are bound to fall apart within a few years after construction. This occurs even faster when no day to day maintenance is provided. Henry C. Pitt's game is to blame all the deterioration on the tenants, try to scare them into paying for repairs out of their own pockets, or threaten to evict them because their homes are not up to government standards. His other tricks include putting the electric bills in the tenants' names (the faulty wiring causes many bills to be as much as $50-60 per month) and attempting to raise rents five and ten dollars every month.

The Cleveland-Main Tenants Council represents nearly all of the families at the projects. Since October they have fought a rent increase to a standoff, negotiated for new maintenance procedures, and demanded (and finally received) section 8 rent subsidies. The Tenants Council also fought against a variety of harassment and intimidation tactics from threat of mass evictions to attempted utility cutoffs.

In November the Tenants Council petitioned the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), the legal monitor of the 236 housing program, for assistance in controlling the landlord. HUD's response has been to either ignore the problem or lie to the tenants. At one point HUD official Sam Clemens promised the council that the utility service would not be converted to individual accounts for thirty days. Three days later HUD approved the change. As to the demands of the tenants for maintenance, extermination and regular garbage collection, all of which is included in the rent, Clemens has refused to force the landlord to meet his obligations. HUD officials have also refused to cooperate with tenant representatives seeking to view federal regulations and guidelines on the 236 program.

Reports from the other 950 federal 236 units in Milwaukee show the same pattern of neglect and harassment. While, nationally, HUD officials have pointed to the 236 program in Milwaukee as a model of their management, any tenant at Cleveland Terrace or Main Street Gardens will tell you the real story. Bruce Banoszewski, spokesman for the tenants at Cleveland Terrace put it this way, "The government says that the management is supposed to operate the buildings on a budget, and only takes 6 percent per year for themselves. But they use all the loopholes, cut the costs and run to the bank with our money."□

ON THE JOB

Johnson & Johnson: "The White Powder"

(Chicago, Ill.) Wendy Martinez and Karen Simas liked working in the warehouse at Johnson and Johnson because of the extra money they brought home each week was just enough to keep their families surviving. Since they were fired early last July things have been very difficult. Wendy and her husband were forced to sell their mobile home and most everything else they owned because of mounting bills. Things got so bad that at one point they did not have the money to buy milk and pampers for their young son. In addition, both Wendy and Karen have been forced to live on medication to avoid recurrent sinus attacks, earaches, lung congestion and infections, cracked sore throats and numerous other side effects.

On May 19, 1976, as they were unloading box cars as part of their warehouse duties, Wendy noticed white powder about an inch thick at the bottom of one of the cars. She brought this to her supervisor's attention. Since he could not find a vacuum to clean the powder up or anything to hose down the loose powder, he insisted that they go ahead and unload the box car anyway. The department was already behind schedule, and they couldn't afford to reject this load.

So, for the next three hours the two young women unloaded this box car. When they were done they had what appeared to be a severe cold. Wendy began bleeding from her nose, they both began vomiting, and Karen had serious sinus problems. Shortly after, they both started running fevers. They immediately went to see the company doctor who gave them a prescription and sent them home.

This was the beginning of months of doctors visits, coming to work, getting sick, going home — the "royal runaround." After the treatment prescribed by company doctors had proved ineffective, and worried that the persisting condition, which included months of running a low-grade fever, might be doing permanent damage, Wendy and Karen went to the department of occupational health at Cook County Hospital. The original "white powder" was analyzed and found to include a high content of zinc and lead. County doctors determined that it was the zinc that had caused the immediate hemorrhaging — the nose bleeds.

The doctors from the occupational health department prescribed new medication and wrote out medical orders for two week medical leaves for both women. The company refused to acknowledge these medical orders and subjected the women to some "60 second" medical examination, the results of which were "there is nothing wrong with you."

As the doctors visits and sickness and going to work and going home from work continued, the company found a technicality to fire both workers. Even the union seems to have backed down, and months and months are going by as the women wait on legal proceedings and receive no pay checks.□

Karen Simas, Wendy Martinez and Wendy's son: months and months are going by as the women wait on legal proceedings and receive no paychecks.

VETERANS' RIGHTS

Back To The Streets With Nothing

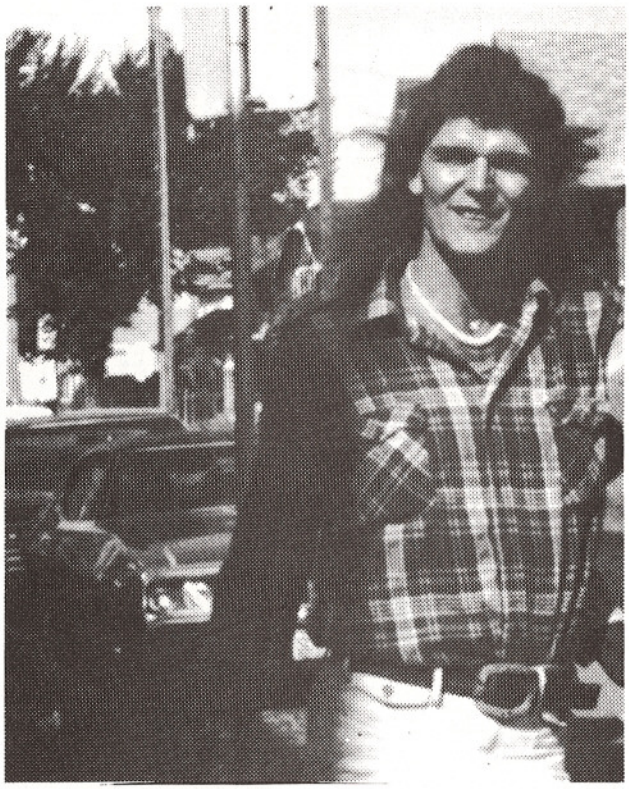
(Milwaukee, Wisc.) Tom Zaborski, who grew up on Milwaukee's southside, attended South Division High School where he played first string on the varsity basketball team before he entered the army in 1967. After basic training he was sent to Germany where he spent the next 18 months with the Army Corps of Engineers. As with tens of thousands of other soldiers, Tom Zaborski developed an addiction to drugs while he was in the service.

Discharged in 1969, he returned to Milwaukee, where he spent the next six years surviving on the street, in and out of ineffective drug programs and trying to squeeze some help out of the veterans administration.

He entered the Jupiter House Therapeutic Community, located on Milwaukee's northside, in September, 1975. His strong desire to recover carried him through the program making him a staff trainee after seven weeks. In December of that year Tom was asked to join the staff of Jupiter House as a counselor, and within a short time, he was given the added responsibility of house manager. His devotion to the residents and the demands of both jobs forced him to work some weeks as much as 90 to 100 hours.

Almost immediately Tom began to feel tensions from other staff members. "The people who run that center and program read about these kinds of problems in books in colleges. They don't understand the day to day problems that people who get strung out are faced with. A lot of residents shied away from the other staff and came to me. I believe that I was qualified to counsel them, having been an addict myself as well as being the only person out of 100 residents ever to graduate the Jupiter House program."

The antagonism over Zaborski's effective style of work grew to the point where he was forced to move out of Jupiter House into his own apartment. Tom requested that other residents in the third stage of the program (permitting them to move outside the center) be allowed to move into his large six room apartment. On



Tom Zaborski: "The system continues to turn its veterans back out onto the streets with nothing."

Friday, October 1 Tom made the request to his supervisor. On Monday, October 4 he was called into the office and discharged by the director of Jupiter house for co-habitation. "I hadn't even moved into the apartment. Everything I owned was still at Jupiter House. I had never been informed of any rule against former residents sharing the same apartment."

In an effort to expose the injustice of the termination and the ineffectiveness of the program, Tom Zaborski, with the aid of the former residents and friends, has determined to fight the termination. They have asked *KEEP STRONG* to print the following statement:

"We are presently fighting for unemployment compensation, which has recently been disputed by CR-SDC (Social Development Commission, the sponsoring agency of Jupiter House). Once we win that and establish that the termination was without good cause, we will go on and fight for reinstatement and damages. There are two separate issues here. The first is the methods used and ability of places like Jupiter House to really help drug addicts recover, and how they react against honest and effective counseling. But the second and larger issue is the way the system continues to send substance abusers to jail and turn its veterans back out onto the street with nothing."□

HEALTH NEWS

Greenpoint Hospital Phase-out

(Brooklyn, N.Y.) Greenpoint Hospital, located at 300 Skillman Ave., is one of the 17 municipal hospitals which are run by the Health and Hospital Corporation of New York City (H.H.C.).

As the city, under the direction of the Emergency Financial Control Board (EFCB), cuts back the money for necessary services to city residents, basic survival institutions like hospitals are being seriously affected. In the last 20 months, the municipal hospital system has lost 7,000 employees and 3,000 beds. While city hall and H.H.C. play political football with the issue and fight over little pieces of the pie, the people who suffer are the residents of the communities around the city who use the municipal hospitals.

Incidents of neglect or poor service have continued to mount at Greenpoint Hospital which services Greenpoint and Northside. A senior citizen in the community fell down and hurt herself. She was taken to the emergency room at Greenpoint Hospital. After waiting awhile, they took some X-Rays of her foot. Without reading the X-Rays or telling her the results, the hospital gave her an appointment to come back in two weeks. When she came back, they told her she had a fractured ankle and set it in a cast.

Robert Veneski, a young child in the community, got hit by a car last month. An ambulance took him to Greenpoint Hospital. He lay in the emergency room for two hours before getting any attention. Then his father, Adam, had to wheel him to the X-Ray room and around the hospital by himself. The X-Rays were taken, and the technician said there was nothing wrong with them. Mr. Veneski was told to take Robert back home. This was on Friday. The following Monday, the hospital called Mr. Veneski and told him to rush his son back to the hospital because they found something on the X-Rays. When Mrs. Veneski got there they told her that the right doctor wasn't there and made an appointment for Wednesday. When they came back on Wednesday, the doctor they were waiting for saw Robert. He suggested Mrs. Veneski take Robert to see a private doctor.

These are but two of the many incidents that have come up. In the meantime the city is going ahead with its plans to phase out Greenpoint Hospital and eventually close it down.

The EFCB, city planners and politicians are moving ahead with their plan to cut the city's population by 25% in the next five years. For those who lose their lives as a result of inadequate health care, will they just be recorded as more casualties of urban development?□

Greenpoint Hospital's emergency room: rather than correct the poor service, the hospital is being phased out altogether.

EDUCATION

Bd. Of Ed. Hiring Freeze Threatens Classroom Teaching

(Chicago, Ill.) Substitutes United For Better Schools (SUBS), a progressive organization of substitute teachers, has charged the Chicago Board of Education with threatening the quality of classroom instruction by recently ordering a "hiring freeze" on 1,000 teaching and 2,600 non-teaching job vacancies in the Chicago public school system. While the Board claims to be "saving money," SUBS charges that it is involved in several dubious real estate activities, threatening both funding and the quality of education.

According to SUBS, the so-called "hiring freeze," voted on by the Board at its December 15 meeting and proposed by Board member Herbert Johnson (also an officer of the Continental Bank), has been really going on for almost a year, and is part of an overall plan to cut back on instructional services. Last June the Board transferred 1,500 substitute teachers allegedly to comply with teacher desegregation plans. However, the "transfers," SUBS notes, were used as an excuse to deny hundreds of qualified substitutes full-time status. As a result of the transfer some teachers were reassigned to schools requiring them to travel 30-40 miles a day, resulting in resistance to the plan and difficulty in participating in the full range of school and community activities. Others were reassigned to schools and later found out that the jobs did not exist because of "underenrollment." Many of the substitutes have suffered demotions and pay cuts up to 75% of their 1975-76 wages.

While the Board claims this hiring freeze will save $33 million by June, 1977, SUBS points out that one of the serious consequences will be that hundreds of classrooms have the choice of being staffed by day to day substitutes or full-time substitutes who are forced to work at part-time pay. This high turnover clearly disrupts quality classroom teaching. Under the current contracts, substitute teachers are entitled to full-time status after 20 consecutive days in the classroom and full benefits, plus $11,000 per year salary. Part-time subs, however, have been forced to work at $40 per day and receive no benefits. The Board has put a freeze on substitute teachers' wages since 1968, a factor which has divided substitute teachers and allowed the Board of Education to drive down wages in general.

George Schmidt conducts a press conference where SUBS charged that the Board of Education had an overall plan to cut back instructional services.

While the Board claims to be saving money by calling a hiring freeze, it is spending close to $25 million in a series of new construction and leasing activities (see *KEEP STRONG*; Nov., 1976). The Board claims it is spending the money on construction and school rehabilitation in the Marquette Park/North Englewood area to relieve school overcrowding, but it has been pointed out that the conditions could be relieved by transferring some students to nearby public schools where space is available. In one case the Board has approved spending $100,000 to lease classroom space from the Catholic Church when space was available nearby in another school.

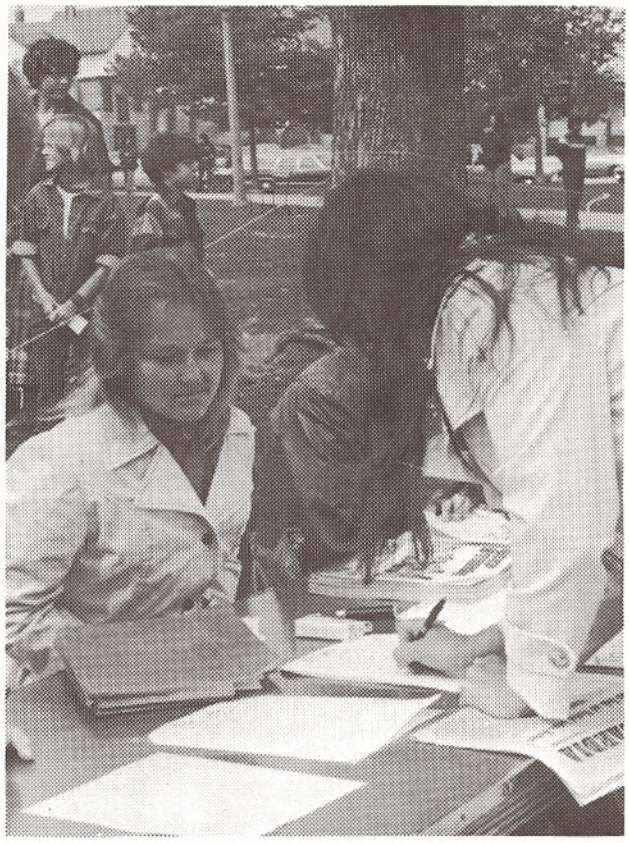
SUBS will raise these issues at the next regularly scheduled Board of Education meeting on January 12. If the hiring freeze is not lifted by March, SUBS will call for a one day sick day protest by substitutes, regular teachers and parents who refuse to allow the Board of Education to cut back on classroom services.

Meanwhile, it should be pointed out that two members of the Board serve on powerful and influential redevelopment committees in the city; Ms. Carey Preston is a member of the Chicago 21 Corporation board, involved in the construction of Dearborn Park, a residential community in the south loop for middle and upper-income White families, while Joseph Hannon, superintendent, is a member of the Mayor's Council of Manpower and Economic Advisers which put together the Overall Economic Development Plan (OEDP). This controversial plan, illegally submitted to the federal government without citizen participation calls for several projects which will result in the displacement of Black, Latino and poor and working White people from the central city.□

CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Busing To Prisons Program Expands

(Milwaukee, Wisc.) Although the Free Busing to Prisons Program has been in operation on Milwaukee's southside only a few short months, the demand has been so great and the community participation so good, organizers of the program recently announced that as of January, 1977 a full service schedule will go into effect on the southside, including the addition of regular trips,



Milwaukee ISC volunteer signs up community residents for the Free Busing to Prisons Program.

for the first time, to Kettle Moraine and Taycheedah. The program is sponsored jointly by the Committee for Survival of Prisoners, the Milwaukee Chapter of the Black Panther Party and the Intercommunal Survival Committee.

Based on the idea of continuing the relationships between inmates and their families and community during the period of incarceration, the program has been in operation since the spring of 1972, when a group of families of inmates and concerned community residents, working with the Black Panther Party, formed the Committee for Survival of Prisoners. The program has been funded since the beginning through the support of concerned residents, small businesses and a series of popular benefit fund raisers. Citing the increasing problem of inmates being placed far away from the communities from which they come and must eventually return to, Roy Maxie, the program director, has stated that one of the prime objectives of the program is to decrease the cost of transportation to families of inmates incarcerated in state correctional institutions who wish to visit their loved ones on a regular basis. He pointed out that the round trip bus/cab fare from the inner city of Milwaukee to the Correctional Institution at Fox Lake for one person is $42.50,

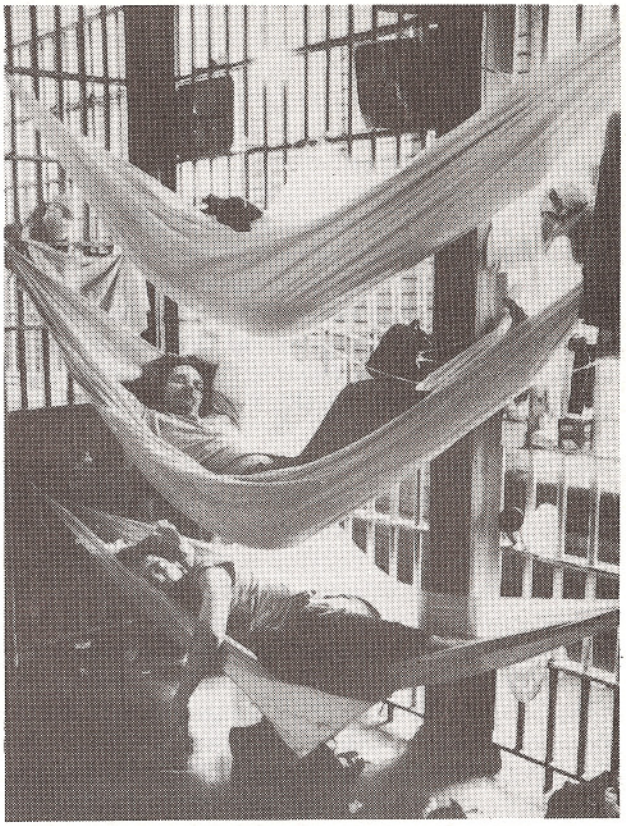
making it nearly impossible for a family from the oppressed community to see their people more than a few times a year.

Since the spring of 1972, over 10,000 people have used the Free Busing to Prisons Program. Many families come from Racine, Kenosha and other neighboring cities in order to ride the bus to Waupun, Green Bay, Central State and Fox Lake. The addition of service to Kettle Moraine and Taycheedah will not only greatly increase the size of the program, but more importantly, establish a concrete link between those who are locked up and the communities which they must ultimately depend on for their survival.

Milwaukee ISC coordinator, Marc Zalkin, aptly summarized the need for and direction of the Free Busing to Prisons Program when he stated, "Wisconsin is really no different than any other state. Thousands of young people, who are as much victims as criminals, are taken from their communities in the central cities and locked in isolation. The Free Busing to Prisons Program gives our community a structured vehicle to break this isolation and guarantee that inmates can sustain an understanding of their communities and themselves. This is a program that was started in the Black community. It serves as a clear example of how White people can survive more humanely in the cities when we are willing to work with and take direction from people of color."□

Federal Suit Filed By Stateville Inmates

(Chicago, Ill.) Eight Stateville Correctional Center inmates, on behalf of themselves and "all other similarly situated persons" have filed a civil lawsuit in federal court charging overcrowding and inhuman conditions that violate the "laws of the United States and their constitutional rights to be free of cruel and unusual punishment." Defendants in the suit include Illinois governor Dan Walker; Acting Director of the Illinois Department of Corrections, Charles Rowe; Chief of Operations of the Illinois Department of Corrections, Joseph Feconda; Warden and Chief Administrator of Stateville Correctional Center, David Brierton; and Assistant Wardens of Stateville, Robert Kapture and Art Wallenstein.



Overcrowded conditions such as those above are common in prisons and jails throughout this country.

According to the suit, the rights of the plaintiffs have been violated by the defendants, who are collectively responsible for all the conditions at Stateville, by allowing the prison to house "over 200% more inmates than should properly be confined in the space provided; by no longer furnishing all plaintiffs and other inmates with clean, functional and vermin-free cells, beds, clean linen and bedding, adequate and clean clothing, regular and frequent access to bathing facilities; and by seriously understaffing the number of correctional officers at Stateville so that adequate exercise programs are not provided and inmates lack reasonable protection from violence and sexual attacks. The confinement of human beings under these conditions shocks the conscience of a civilized society and should not be tolerated."

The long overdue suit asks the court to enjoin the state from admitting any more inmates to Stateville until certain conditions are met. All of these are based on federal law and state policy. They include: to "provide at least 70 square feet of cell or dormitory floor space for the housing of each inmate" while currently only 25.5 square feet of space per inmate is provided in spite of a federally suggested standard of 70 square feet; that each cell have drinkable water and properly

functioning plumbing, electricity, lighting and ventilation; that each inmate be provided with a bed, clean mattress, linens and blankets; that each cell have adequate supplies for cleaning; that each inmate be provided with toothbrush, soap, towel, toilet paper, comb and brush and that these items be replaced as necessary; that each inmate be issued two complete uniforms which will be replaced as necessary; that each inmate be provided laundry services for his clothing, bed linen and towel at least once a week and once every three months for his blanket; that each inmate be allowed to shower at least once a week and shave at least every other day; that any inmate who requests it be provided 1st class postage at least three times a week; and that each inmate receive one uninterrupted hour a day of physical activity outside of his cell.

In addition to rectification of the severe overcrowding, lack of sanitary conditions, etc., the suit requests that the court appoint a committee to insure that the court's orders are followed, and asks for a comprehensive report prepared by the defendants within six months which would detail their progress in correcting these conditions.

Meanwhile, as *KEEP STRONG* goes to press, the U.S. Justice Department has filed separate civil rights suits against the Illinois and Cook County Corrections Departments. Both suits charge that the 17 state prisons and Cook County Jail are "dangerously overcrowded" and that both corrections agencies have failed to provide adequate sanitation and health facilities. In addition, the suit against the Illinois Department of Corrections charges that Black inmates have been segregated and denied access to many prison programs.□

Secret Grand Jury Investigates P.R. Independence Movement

(Chicago, Ill.) Since seven activists favoring Puerto Rican independence were subpoenaed last month to face a secret grand jury in Chicago (see *KEEP STRONG*; Dec., 1976), a Committee to Stop the Grand Jury has been formed and is calling for active resistance to grand jury abuse and continued harassment of those active in the Puerto Rican independence movement and Puerto Rican community.

Formed last February to allegedly investigate bombings in Chicago attributed to the FALN and a "bomb factory on the northwest side," the grand jury has subpoenaed seven people including two activists from the southwest. Among those called to testify are Juan Lopez, professor of history at Northeastern Illinois University and Myrna Lopez, director of the Rafael Miranda High School in West Town. Juan and Myrna have appeared before the grand jury but refused to take the oath to testify. The two activists from the southwest refused to testify, citing the fifth amendment. The government will probably seek immunity from prosecution for the two which would make them vulnerable to contempt charges and possible imprisonment.

At a federal court hearing December 15, more than 60 supporters of those who face the grand jury gathered in Judge Alfred Parson's courtroom to hear motions challenging the illegal activities of the grand jury and continued FBI surveillance and harassment. A motion was entered to quash (withdraw) a subpoena served on Juan Lopez ordering that he submit to fingerprints, palm prints and photographs. Attorney Dennis Cunningham pointed out that such a

On December 8 over 60 supporters picketed before the federal building to stop the grand jury.

subpoena is harassment since Juan as a county employee already has this information on file.

Another key motion challenged the composition of the grand jury and charges that it is discriminatory. While the northern district of Illinois has at least a 5% Latino population, there is not one Spanish-speaking person on the grand jury.

The Committee to Stop the Grand Jury along with the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and other progressive groups accuse the FBI of abusing the grand jury and making it a tool of repression. According to *Claridad*, the grand jury is being used "more than ever before to harass and gather information about communities of activists." They point out that, historically, grand juries were set up to investigate whether or not there was enough evidence to bring someone to trial for violation of the law. Federal grand juries were originally set up to investigate the misconduct of public officials, not people active in political movements.

The Committee to Stop the Grand Jury is currently circulating petitions to U.S. Attorney Sam Skinner calling on his office to end the grand jury in Chicago and stop FBI harassment in the Puerto Rican community in Chicago. The group recently sponsored a successful film benefit of the movie "Z," which depicts resistance to the secret police in Greece, and plans a city-wide forum in the near future.

For more information on the federal grand jury here and activities of the Committee to Stop the Grand Jury, contact Centro Betances; 2156 W. North Ave.; Chicago, Ill.; 235-8080.□

FIGHTING CITY HALL

Chicago 21 Plan Opposition On The Move

(Chicago, Ill.) During the week of December 12-19, members of the city-wide Coalition to Stop the Chicago 21 Plan attempted to meet with their respective aldermen. The purpose of these meetings was to voice the broad community opposition to the Overall Economic Development Plan (OEDP) recently passed by the city council. The groups attempted to inform their representatives that the city had violated federal guidelines by the manner in which they had drawn up the plan — there was no community participation in its development. The groups also wanted to point out to the aldermen that many of the particular aspects of the plan which affected their immediate communities had long been opposed in those communities.

On Monday, December 13 about 20 members of the Tranquility Housing Coalition visited the offices of 42nd ward alderman Burton Natarus. The focus of their meeting was the Department of Urban Renewal's Project Mohawk North proposal which has already been endorsed by city council. It is reported that the Isham YMCA plans to build its new facilities on the land vacated by Project Mohawk.

Community residents pointed out to Natarus that they are very critical of Project Mohawk because; 1) no public hearings have been held by the Department of Urban Renewal, the city council, the alderman or the mayor to inform community residents of their plans to destroy homes in the community; 2) when community residents became aware of these plans and attended the proposed DUR hearing, the public official postponed the discussion of Project Mohawk; 3) the same elected official, the alderman himself, who was unwilling to meet with the community, readily met with the North Avenue Businessmen to discuss a proposal to service their commercial properties; and 4) many of the people who would be displaced by Project Mohawk are property owners who are poor and Black and have lived there as long as three generations and should not be forced to move from their property.

Alderman Natarus said at the meeting that he supported the community, but he would make no commitments or promises. Nor would he say if he would take any concrete action. In other words, he will do nothing to stop destruction of the peoples' homes.

On Thursday, December 16, about 25 representatives of the Uptown Tenants Survival Union and the Intercommunal Survival Committee attempted to meet with Alderman Chris Cohen of the 46th ward. A meeting had been set up for 11 a.m. at Cohen's downtown office. It was with reluctance that these representatives agreed to go downtown, but that was the only place where the alderman could be found since he no longer keeps any office hours in the ward. The

On Monday, December 13 about 20 members of the Tranquility Housing Coalition visited the offices of 42nd ward alderman Burton Natarus (top). On Thursday, December 16 about 25 representatives of the Uptown Tenants Survival Union and the Intercommunal Survival Committee attempted unsuccessfully to meet with Chris Cohen, 46th ward alderman, at his office downtown (bottom).

community residents had hoped to inform Alderman Cohen of their opposition to the OEDP plan, in particular the regional shopping center and the Uptown Urban Renewal Project both of which the community has long opposed. Both of these projects appear in the OEDP plan. When the groups arrived at city hall, it was learned that Cohen was not in, could not be reached, and would not be back until 2 o'clock. According to his secretary, the alderman knew nothing about this plan (even though he had voted for it at the November 15 city council session). He did not even have a copy of it. Unable to wait three hours, the groups had to leave without meeting with "their" alderman. However, they did ask that his secretary have him call to set up another time that they could meet. Alderman Cohen has not as of yet returned the call.

In the 31st ward attempts by coalition members to reach their alderwoman, Adeline Keane, have been repeatedly thwarted by the fact that Ms. Keane is not available to the community. After three weeks of trying to reach her to arrange a meeting, the group in the West Town area have had no success whatsoever.

Commenting on the week's activity, one Coalition spokesperson said, "It is quite obvious that our elected officials in the city council have no concern for the needs and desires of the people in our communities, but repeatedly act as a rubber stamp for the big business interests who seek to run us out of the city by destroying our communities. Really this is not something we have just learned, but has been true in Chicago for a long as we can remember. They have left us no choice but to escalate our struggle to fight them with every tool we can come up with, because it is clearly true that the normal government processes don't work for the majority of the people in the city of Chicago."□

12 Die In Fire: The Firemen Spoke No Spanish

(Chicago, Ill.) A flash fire that destroyed a three-story building, killing twelve and seriously injuring five others, has shocked and angered this city's Latino population. The fire, at 1811 W. 17th St. in the Mexicano community of Pilsen, started on the third floor landing of the building

during a Christmas party. It quickly spread down the stairwell apparently leaving the victims trapped. Smoke, which filled the third floor apartment where the party was going on, obscured the fire escape from those inside. Both police and firemen on the scene, not able to speak Spanish, could not communicate with those trapped. Eight children and two mothers died in the tragic fire.

The Pilsen community, located on Chicago's near southwest side, is a predominantly Mexicano community. It is one of several large Latino communities in this city. And yet there are few if any Spanish-speaking firemen available for emergencies where communication is a matter of life or death.

According to official figures, there are only 200 Black and 20 Spanish-speaking men among all estimated 4,500 firemen in Chicago. Clearly, under these circumstances, it is impossible for a Spanish-speaking fireman to be on the scene of every fire in Chicago's large Latino community.

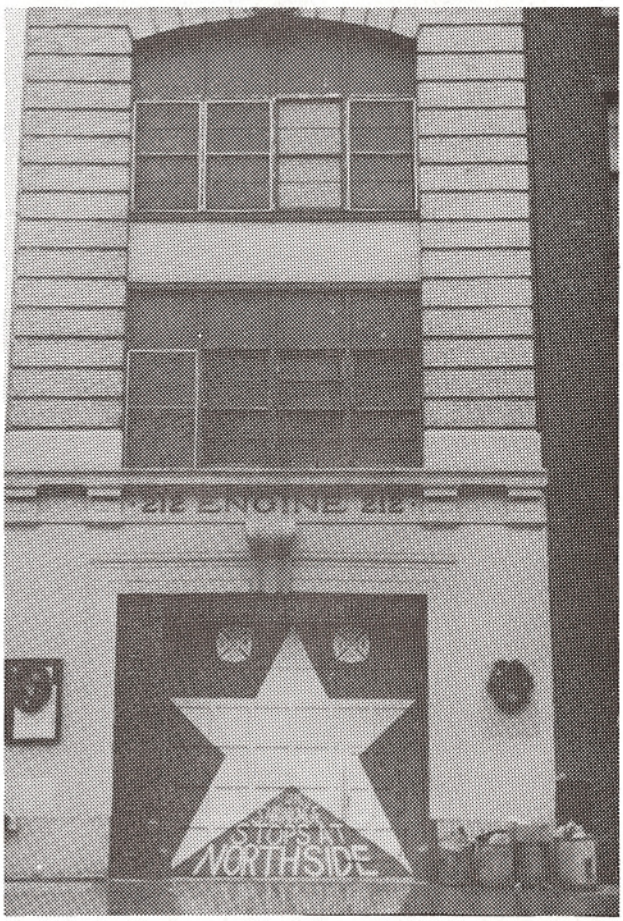
Meanwhile, a 1973 suit charging Chicago with hiring discrimination in its fire department has been virtually ignored since the city signed a consent decree in January, 1974. According to that agreement, the next class of firefighter recruits would be from minority groups, and thereafter, all hiring would be on the basis of 50 percent White and 50 percent Black, Latino or other non-Whites. Since that time the city has evaded this agreement by not hiring any firemen. In early November the city submitted a hiring plan that would again evade the 1974 order. A federal judge has imposed a temporary hiring freeze until the city complies with the original order.□

"Planned Shrinkage Stops At Northside"

(Brooklyn, N.Y.) A major victory has been won by the people of the Northside community in Brooklyn. After over a year of continuous occupation of Firehouse #212 (renamed the People's Firehouse #1), numerous demonstrations, meetings and negotiations, the people of Northside have forced the city to sign an agreement guaranteeing them fire protection (see *KEEP STRONG*; June, 1976).

On Saturday, December 11, at 3:30 a.m., John T. O'Hagan, the city fire commissioner, a man who said that his word was as good as gold, and he would never put his signature on paper, put his signature on a binding agreement guaranteeing that by Christmas Eve, firemen and two trucks would return to the People's Firehouse.

Last week, reporters from *KEEP STRONG* magazine went to the People's Firehouse to talk with community residents about the victory. The people from Northside say that the reason for the victory was that they had developed strong unity among different groups in the community and were determined to carry the struggle through to victory. Recently, after a year of attempting to meet with and talk to various city officials, the people of Northside began to implement "Plan B." The idea of Plan B was to put enough pressure on city politicians to force them to give adequate fire protection to the residents of the area. It was this, Plan B, that shook the politicians up enough to force them to reach a quick settlement after a year of stalling. In recent weeks there have been demonstrations



People's Firehouse #1: "Planned shrinkage stops at Northside."

"People's fire chief" Adam Veneski (inset) and the fire engine stationed at People's Firehouse #1 for which Northside residents have been demanding firemen to man.

at Fire Commissioner O'Hagan's house and Deputy Mayor Zuccotti's house.

When asked to describe Plan B, Victor Crepeau said: "From this minute on, because from now 'til next November is a campaign, wherever Beame went, we would be — not just Beame, but Zuccotti... we were out to embarrass the city completely and totally through the coming year if we didn't get back fire protection, and I think this shook them up, and they decided they had better give us a settlement."

When asked what the secret behind the victory was, residents responded unanimously that it was the unity that had developed throughout the year. Frank Korzeniewski, a long time community resident said: "We have people of all ages here. We have senior citizens, the young ones, and we have the in-betweens; and I think over the year it proved we could stay together... we got along together, and I think that was a great thing in itself... when you get a group of people like this to stay together and come to a solution... I think this is something to look forward to, to keep this group together..."

The people of Northside are not going to disband, even when the firehouse situation is settled. They are presently looking for a storefront nearby where they will be able to begin to deal with other problems, continuing the struggle for a decent community. They will also work with the fire department to inspect fire hydrants, making sure they're checked and repaired. They will get some people from the community and train them to do building inspections and report violations to the fire department.

There is a slogan painted on the door of the People's Firehouse that says, "Planned Shrinkage Stops at Northside." As one community resident said, "The people who have been working here for the last year in this firehouse are the backbone of this community... this community is going to survive... if you're going to keep a community alive, you've got to fight." □

COMMENT

Power In Chicago: Who Has It?

Submitted by the Intercommunal Survival Committee

The death of Richard J. Daley, mayor of Chicago for 22 years, and the power struggle for political control of the city have been the focus of national as well as local news. The openly racist refusal of White democratic leaders to accept Black city council president pro tem Wilson Frost as the acting mayor for the next few months has angered Black people throughout the country. While Mayor Daley is praised and eulogized as the "man who made Chicago work," the media spotlight seeks to find who his "successor" will be. But for the majority of Chicago's poor and working people for whom Chicago does not and did not "work," it is time to analyze, to analyze quickly and then to act.

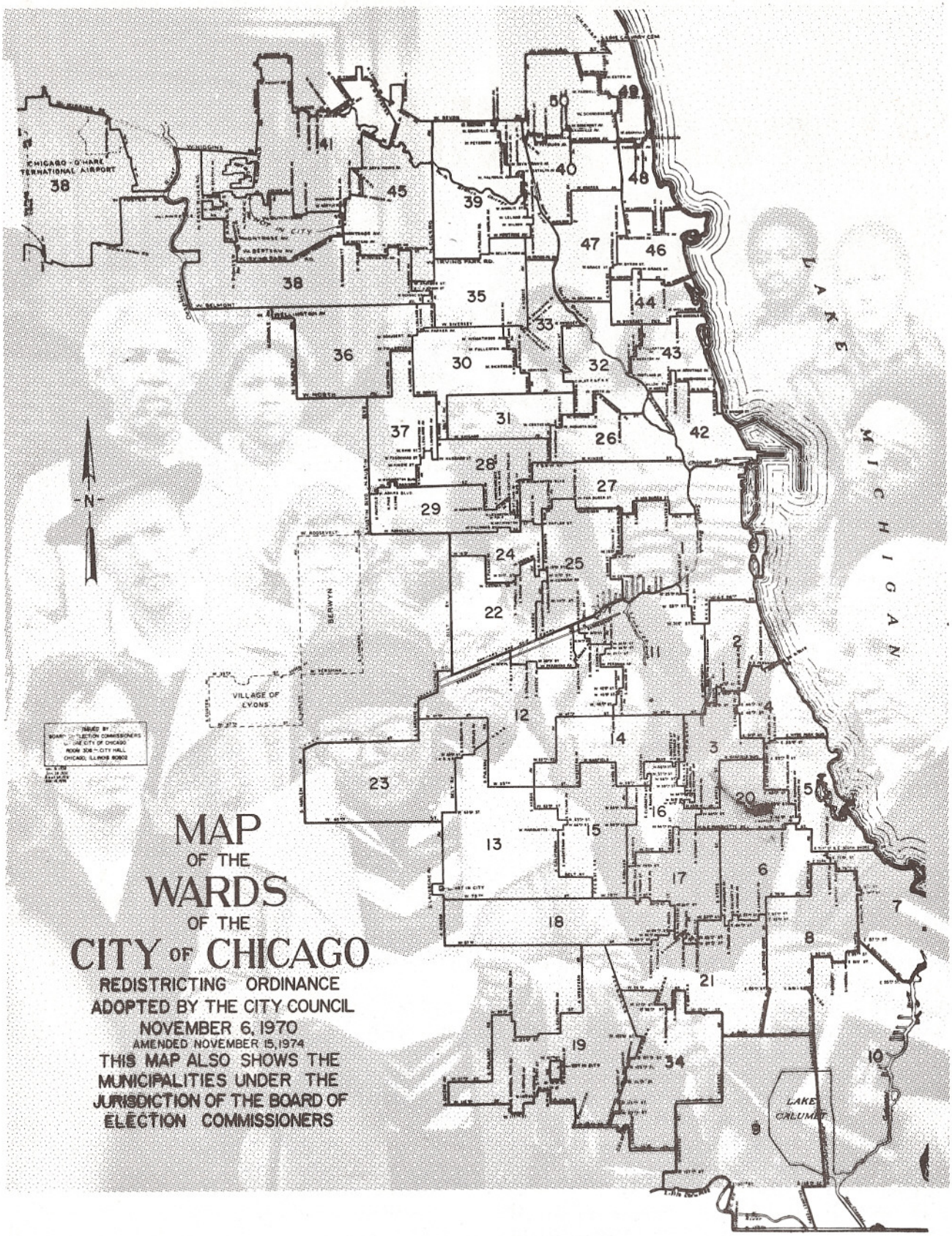
Daley was an ordinary power hungry politician with enough skill in politics to be recognized and gain friends among the rich and powerful in the city and the country. For 22 years he served the every whim of the banks, the big insurance companies, the real estate speculators and the large corporations. With these allies Daley was able to maintain leadership of an ingenious structure of political power, a structure that depended on the support of poor and working people even as it was being used against us.

In the middle of the rhetoric, we should remember the facts; Chicago is divided into 50 wards, each with about 60-70,000 people. Each ward has an alderman who represents those people on the city council. But each ward also has a Democratic Party ward committeeman. These fifty ward committeemen sit on the Cook County Democratic Party central committee. This central committee is the shadow government of the city.

The ward committeeman is responsible for getting the vote out in his ward, and his power depends on the number of votes he gets out. During Daley's term of office as mayor and chairman of the Democratic Party central committee there was actually a secret formula for doling out the power. If the ward committeeman got out 10,000 votes in his ward for the party, then that determined his percentage of the city jobs he would get to hand out to recruit his precinct captains and precinct workers with.

The thousands of jobs in the hands of the Cook County central committee by forced agreement with the political office holders who allowed the central committee to assign the jobs in return for party support at election time formed the basis of an army of election workers. If the ward committeeman gave you one of his jobs working for the city, he could also take it away, the day after the election. The precinct captains and precinct workers therefore worked very hard to turn in the vote. Their jobs depended on it.

A good precinct captain, in past years of the machine, would live in the precinct and would know the voters. Chicago's very difficult system of voter registration meant that, especially in poor precincts, as few as 40% of the eligible voters are registered. The precinct captain had therefore to deal only with about 200 people to insure that he could carry the precinct for the party, and he could usually count on some assistant precinct captains and election workers whose jobs were also at stake. The precinct captain could get you cut off of welfare, or he could get you put on welfare. He could get you past a waiting list at Cook County Hospital. He could get your son out of legal problems in the courts and maybe even a summer job with the city. So if the precinct captain applied himself


MAP
OF THE
WARDS
OF THE
CITY OF CHICAGO
REDISTRICTING ORDINANCE
ADOPTED BY THE CITY COUNCIL
NOVEMBER 6, 1970
AMENDED NOVEMBER 15, 1974
THIS MAP ALSO SHOWS THE
MUNICIPALITIES UNDER THE
JURISDICTION OF THE BOARD OF
ELECTION COMMISSIONERS
CHICAGO - O'HARE INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT
VILLAGE OF LYONS
BERWYN
LAKE MICHIGAN
LAKE CALUMET
N

Daley's first chosen "successor," Edward Hanrahan (left) was thoroughly discredited after his state's attorney's police were involved in the assassination of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. Other top ranking machine officials like Alderman Thomas Keane, were jailed for the rampant corruption that characterize the machine.

during the year, he could call in his debts from the voters on election day.

Daley acted as the caretaker of the central committee, seeing that the power was fairly distributed among the various ward committeemen. Through time he attained more and more power, and he was never challenged in his caretaker role by those with money because he never bucked them.

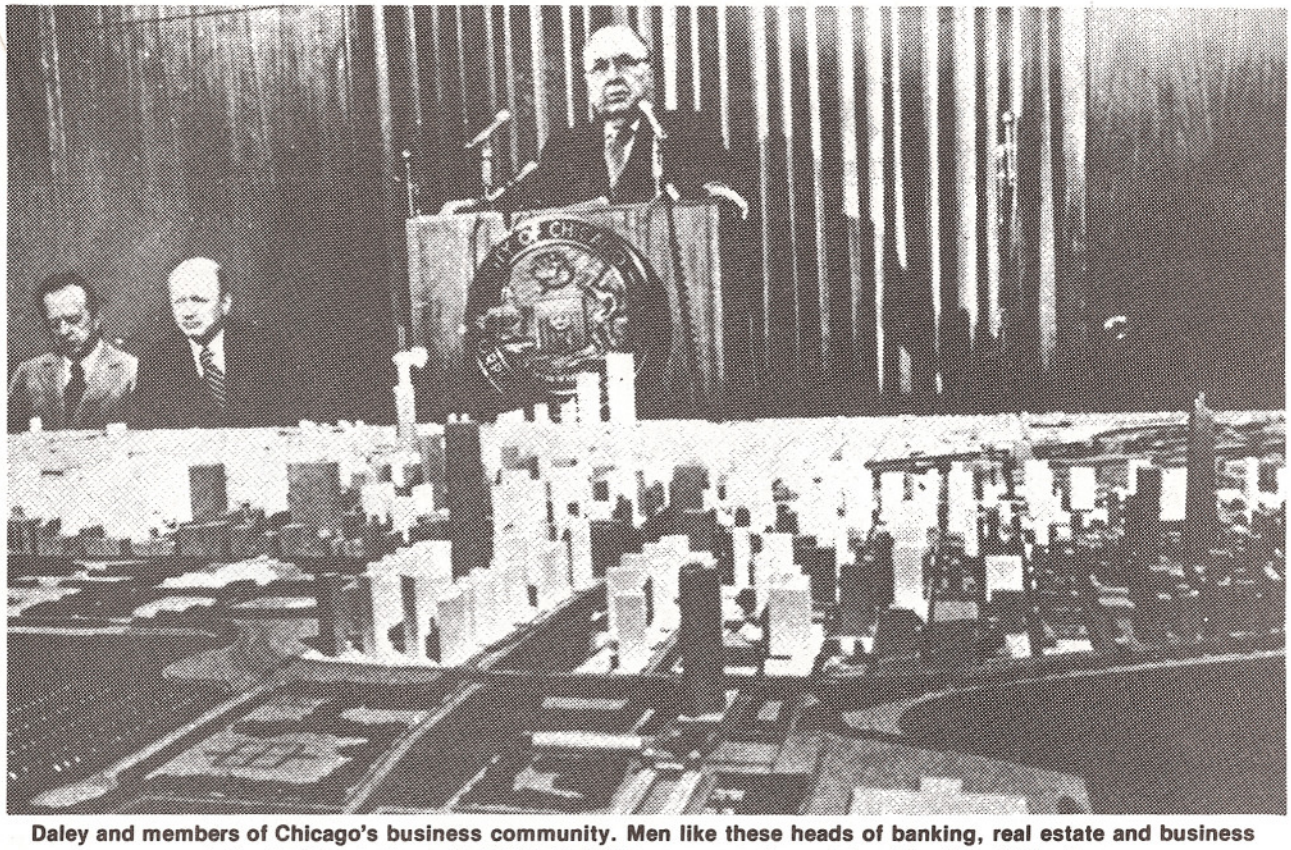
DALEY DIED JUST IN TIME

In the last few years before Daley died the democratic machine was already beginning to put itself out of business in the poor and oppressed community. This happened in two ways. First the political machinery began to expose itself to the people. The same Richard J. Daley who was honored last month as a "kind and gentle administrator" ordered Chicago police to "shoot to kill" and "aim to maim" people in the Black and oppressed community after Dr. Martin Luther King was killed. Daley's first chosen "successor," Edward Hanrahan, was thoroughly discredited after his states' attorney's police were involved in the assassination of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. Other top ranking machine officials like Alderman Thomas Keane were jailed for the rampant corruption that characterized the machine.

At the precinct level, the well-paid precinct captains often moved out of the oppressed communities all together, coming back in only during election day. The services they offered began to dry up as cutbacks in basic available city services were on the increase.

But the disintegration of the Daley democratic machine was caused most of all by a small group of men who were not public officials and who did not hold city "patronage" jobs. Men like Thomas Ayers, president of Commonwealth Edison, had long proclaimed Daley "a great city mayor, a mayor that the business community could work with cooperatively." These heads of banking, real estate and business made the decision in the early 1960's that Chicago was to be reclaimed for the middle class.

The Daley administration has been characterized more by the destruction of neighborhoods than by any other single activity in the city. Billions have been spent in building expressways to bring the middle class to the loop and back, in the construction of high rise middle and upper-income apartment buildings and office buildings, and in the purchase of neighborhood land and the demolition of low-income housing. Only the smallest fraction of the city budget has gone into basic social services or the attempt to bring employment opportunities into Chicago.



Daley and members of Chicago's business community. Men like these heads of banking, real estate and business made the decision in the early 1960's that Chicago was to be reclaimed for the middle class.

The "masterplan" to drive poor and working people from the city, to "whiten" the inner city, and to bring the middle class back in to replace them was presided over jointly by men like Thomas Ayers from the business community and hand-picked Daley henchmen like Lewis Hill. And every step of this cruel evacuation policy that has been proposed has been passed by the rubber stamp city council that often did not even bother to read the resolutions and ordinances it passed.

The political machine's policies of ignoring and evacuating the Black, Latino and poor White communities, along with the internal corruption and racism of the machine created massive dissatisfaction among the voters that has appeared whenever there has been some alternative to the machine presented. In effect, the ingenious political structure which the majority of Chicagoans had been put into through the lure of jobs and favors was being used directly against them by the downtown financial interests that really control that machinery: and it was beginning to become obvious.

THE ACTING MAYOR

When Daley died the people of Chicago had the opportunity to watch the city council on television going through the motions of selecting the new acting mayor. Although there was great talk about a power struggle, there was really no power struggle that could take place. Power had been determined by the ability to get votes and on that basis to give out jobs. When most of the meetings had taken place, when most of the press conferences were over, when the community had clearly stated its preference for Wilson Frost to become acting mayor, Daley's chief lackey in charge of patronage, Tommy Donovan, brought all the parties together and worked out the deal. The basic structure of the Cook County democratic central committee had not been changed.

WHO HAS THE POWER?

Of course, the people have the power. For 22 years and really much longer, the power of the people has been imprisoned in the Daley machine political system. For the people of Chicago to rule the city for our own benefit, we must develop a new political structure, beginning at the precinct level, and organize our power to take control of the city, step by step. What makes this possible now is not Daley's death. It is the question of our own survival as our power rests organized in the hands of a political structure that is being used to destroy us.□

Oakland: A Base of Operations

When you enter Oakland, California, off of one of that state's endless freeways, there is no sign that says "Oakland: a base of operations." The sign says merely, "Oakland." This city of 338,000 people is nearly majority Black and at first doesn't appear to be different from any other major American city where poor housing and unemployment create the ugly realities of life for poor people today. The conditions may be very similar, but something is different, as if a new wind was quietly blowing through the city, from a new direction.

Oakland grew greatly in population during World War II, spurred on by wartime industry and jobs provided by the presence of the west coast's major port: the port of Oakland. But, as in hundreds of other cities, the jobs began to dry up, and the industries began to move out. There was a massive "flight" of those White Oaklanders who could afford to get out. The city's Mexicano population grew, and its Black percentage moved up by leaps and bounds. It became a city of poor people with a deteriorating downtown area and a small elite of the wealthy that lived up in the "hills."

"It's as though we're on a plantation, and they sit in the big house, and we sit in the surrounding little huts being quiet. Well, we just can't do that. There's no way that we can accept anything less than these jobs, and really, this is a minimal, minimal request for the people who keep this city going, who occupy the city and get nothing out of our citizenship."

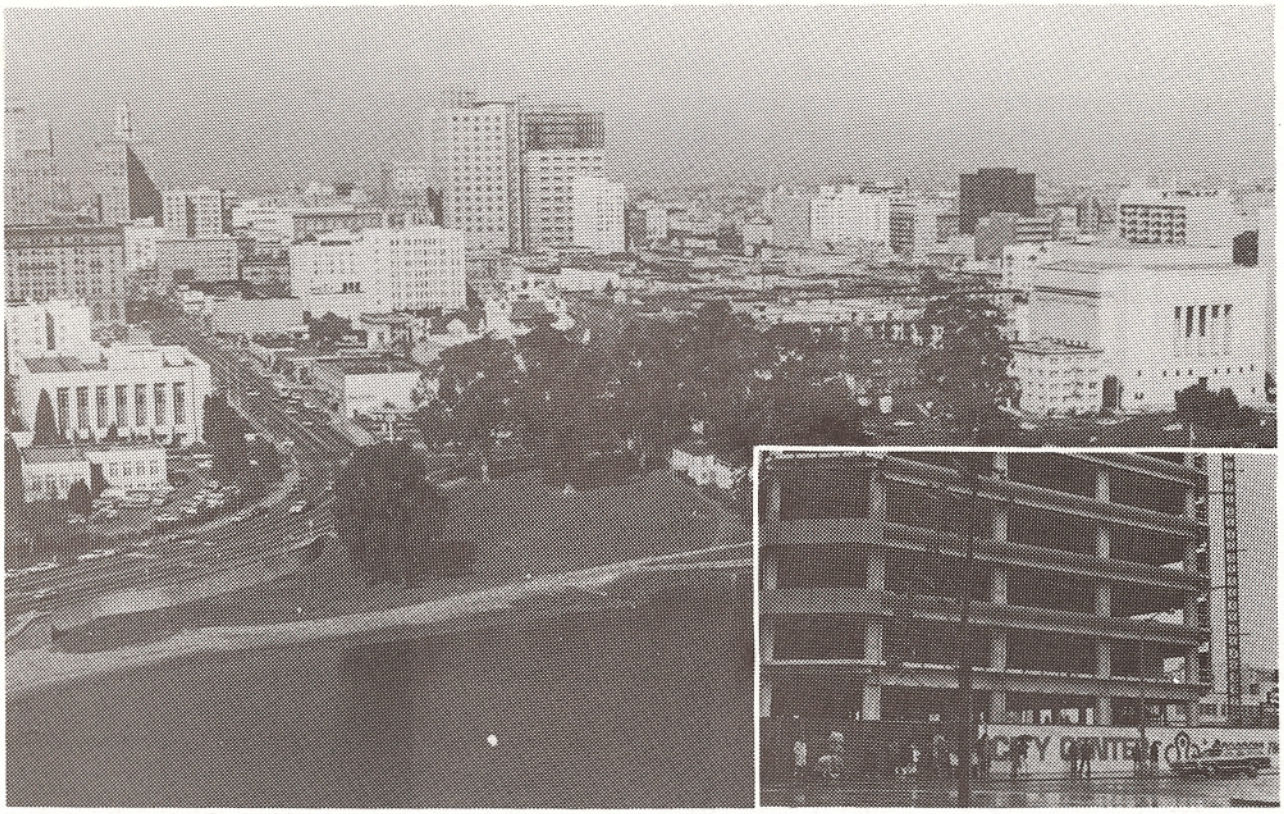
The city powers responded as they have done in countless other cases. Poverty program money was piped in in small amounts to calm the enormous demand for basic needs in the oppressed community. At the same time, urban renewal programs were begun, designed to wipe out low-income neighborhoods. Some people were clustered together in death trap public housing which was left without funding for basic upkeep. And the downtown business interests schemed and dreamed of expressways to bring the middle class back into the central city and resurrect it. The "masterplan" to whiten the inner city and push or leave hanging the Black and poor communities was well under way.

Knowing all this about Oakland and driving through the community, you would be surprised to find that, unlike other cities, a shift in power is taking place. And with that shift, a new future for the city has become a real possibility.

"JOBS, HOUSING—OR NO CITY CENTER"

The masterplan for Oakland called for the construction of a major new city center and an expressway leading from the suburbs into the downtown area. Naturally there were no corresponding plans to provide low-income housing and employment for the people who now live in Oakland. The masterplan, however, did not reckon with the Black Panther Party.

First, the expressway was stopped. Mass pressure and effective legal action stopped the developers from destroying the housing in the



Oakland: a new future for the city has become a real possibility. Construction of the city center project (insert), the multimillion dollar project designed by large downtown corporations, has begun but faces trouble unless the expressway is built.

way of the expressway before it got started. And then, in the midst of Black Panther Party Chairperson Elaine Brown's city council campaign, she announced to the city that "they had a problem" with their entire city center project. It seems that they had not met federal guidelines for the use of federal money in the project because they had not created replacement housing for the low-income housing to be destroyed by the new downtown project. What's more, they had lied on their application.

The negotiations began. At every step the oppressed community of Oakland was informed of each new step, and, organized by the Black Panther Party, large delegations of Oakland residents made their presence felt at strategic city council sessions.

The city agreed reluctantly to provide millions of dollars worth of new low-income housing in replacement for housing destroyed by the city center project. A non-profit community corporation was created to "receive" this housing from the city, to manage it and to turn it over to the tenants after a defined period of time.

The next step was the expressway, because the investors would not go ahead with the city center project unless the expressway bringing potential customers to the new project was constructed. In the way of the expressway was not only the suit but a state administration not in the mood to build highways.

AN ORGANIZED AND POWERFUL COMMUNITY

While these long and painful negotiations and struggles with the city's plans were going on, something else had happened: under the leadership of the Black Panther Party, the Oakland Black and poor communities had become organized. They had shown their strength in two highly successful electoral campaigns. They had become a force to be reckoned with, not only in the city but in the state.

So it was that the heads of large downtown corporations like Clorox and Bank of America found themselves knocking meekly at the door of Black Panther Party Chairperson Elaine Brown. It seemed that the Black Panther Party and progressive organizations with which it was allied were the only ones capable of forcing the state of California to approve the expressway these financial magnates wanted so much. Their own political forces in Oakland had not been

sufficient.

At the door of the Black Panther Party these old time millionaires found some bargaining they had not expected. Ms. Brown explained that they were not opposed to the expressway or the city center project because "we don't want to take over another Newark." Oakland, soon to be controlled by a quickly growing progressive political people's movement, should get what it needed to be economically worth controlling. On the other hand, Ms. Brown explained that these new improvements would not be built at the expense of Black and poor people now. In fact, they must be to their immediate advantage.

With this reasoning, it was demanded that not only the original replacement housing for the city center project be provided, and not only more replacement housing be built for housing knocked down by the new expressway, but the developers and the city must guarantee 10,000 permanent jobs to unemployed residents of Oakland!

With these commitments in hand and the business interests backed thoroughly to the wall, Chairperson Elaine Brown went to the governor of California and demanded the expressway — on condition that the commitments to the jobs and housing be put in the form of legal contracts.

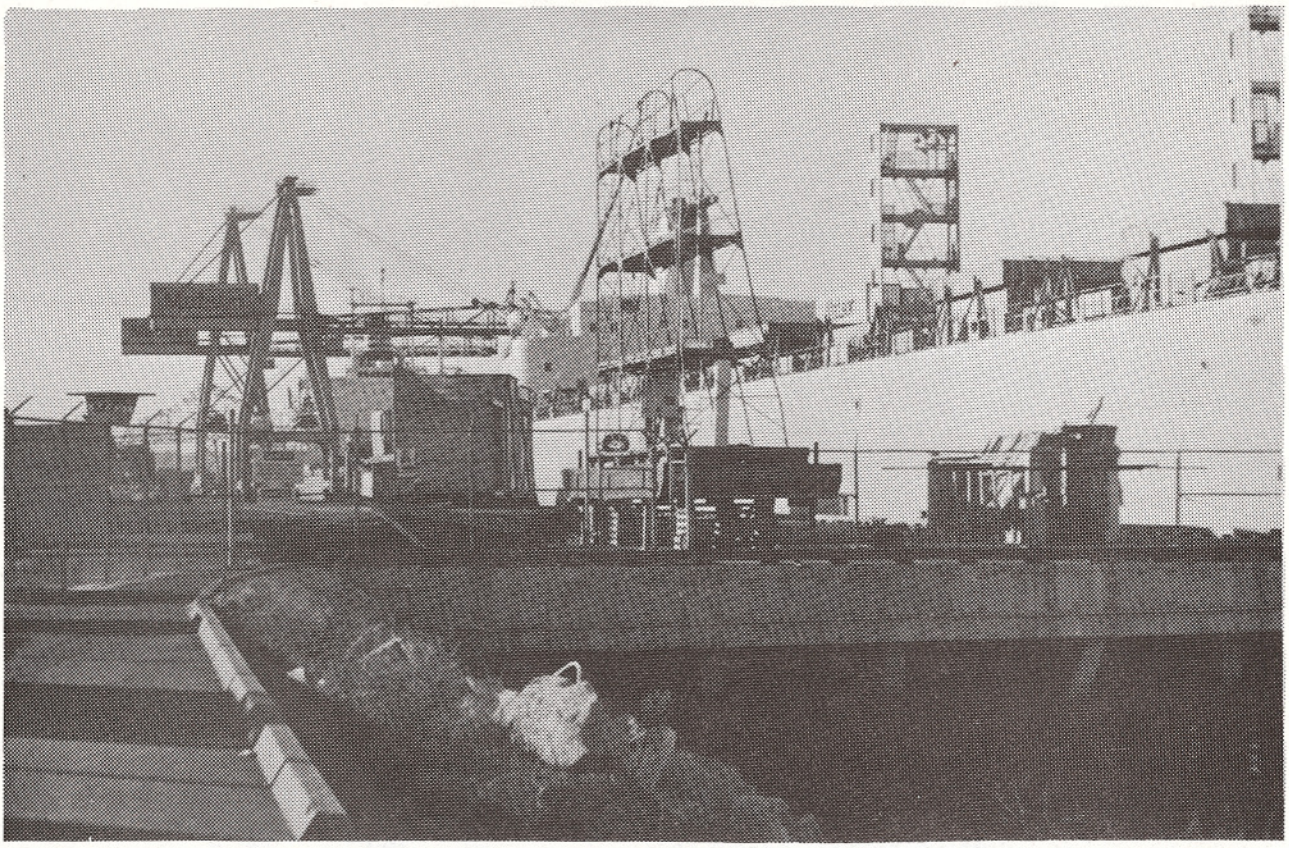
This factual story of actual people's power continues as the combination of legal brilliance and sustained, organized community political power forces the Oakland power structure to make more and more concessions. But the lesson is already clear: an organized people's movement in Oakland, California is forcing the city of Oakland to develop the city within the limitations of the interests of the people who now live there—while that same people's movement is in the process of taking political control of the city.

A MOVEMENT BUILT FROM THE NEEDS OF THE COMMUNITY

A visit to the Oakland Community Learning Center gives some understanding of the relationship between the Black Panther Party and the community. Housed within this multi-faceted and attractive community center is a broad range of programs, including the Oakland Community School, the George Jackson People's Free Medical Clinic, Senior Citizens' Services, Teens Activities, cultural arts projects, the OCLC Sports Program, the People's Free Food Program and popular weekly community forums. Each of these programs has a life of its own. The Oakland Community School, for instance, is a tuition-free elementary school with a full curriculum for ages two-and-a-half to eleven years. Three meals are served daily, and comprehensive health care is afforded all students.

The George Jackson People's Free Medical

Celebrating "Another Year of Survival," 1,500 Oakland residents turned out to the Oakland Community Learning Center for the 1st Annual Winter Festival and the distribution of 500 bags of groceries, 600 toys and 500 Christmas trees, December 18 and 19.



Since the city council campaigns of Elaine Brown, you can't go anywhere or talk to anyone in Oakland who does not know that the port (above) could provide millions of dollars in jobs and services to the people — if the people only controlled the city government.

Clinic provides adult and pediatric clinics, preventative health care screening and education. It also carries on research related to medical problems common in the Black and oppressed communities as well as holding community health seminars. The Senior Citizens' Services, also known as the Seniors Against a Fearful Environment (SAFE) Program, provides escort and transportation for seniors, home visits, legal counseling, a senior switchboard and SAFE club activities. Through the other programs mentioned there is a free weekly film series, teen dances and rap groups, martial arts, basketball and other sports events, dance, drama and monthly free food distribution.

In its ten year history the Black Panther Party has endured perhaps the most intensive government repression ever aimed at a single organization. Twenty-nine Party members have been killed, countless more imprisoned on ridiculous frame-ups. The Party leadership has been slandered in systematic government-coordinated rumor campaigns of incredible scope. The reason should now be clear: the Black Panther Party represented the most serious potential for poor and oppressed people to stop the masterplan "evacuations" of the city and to organize a people's challenge for actual power.

Beyond the city center project and the expressway is the biggest issue in the city: the port of Oakland. The port is the second largest containerized port in the country, second only to New York City. They tried to relocate it but were unsuccessful because of the unique structure and geography of the present site. Under the present city government the port produces almost nothing in the way of jobs and benefits to the oppressed communities in Oakland. But since the city council campaigns of Elaine Brown, you cannot go anywhere or talk to anyone in Oakland who does not now know that the port can provide millions of dollars in jobs and services to the people — if the people only controlled the city government. Strong steps are already being taken to insure this control will happen quickly.

We can expect that soon we may in fact see a sign on entering Oakland that says: "Oakland: A Base of Operations." It will be a base of operations for the people's movement everywhere in this country because it will have shown it is possible for people who put aside their rhetoric and differences to organize creatively to turn masterplans into people's plans.□

New York City: Popular Government Defaulted

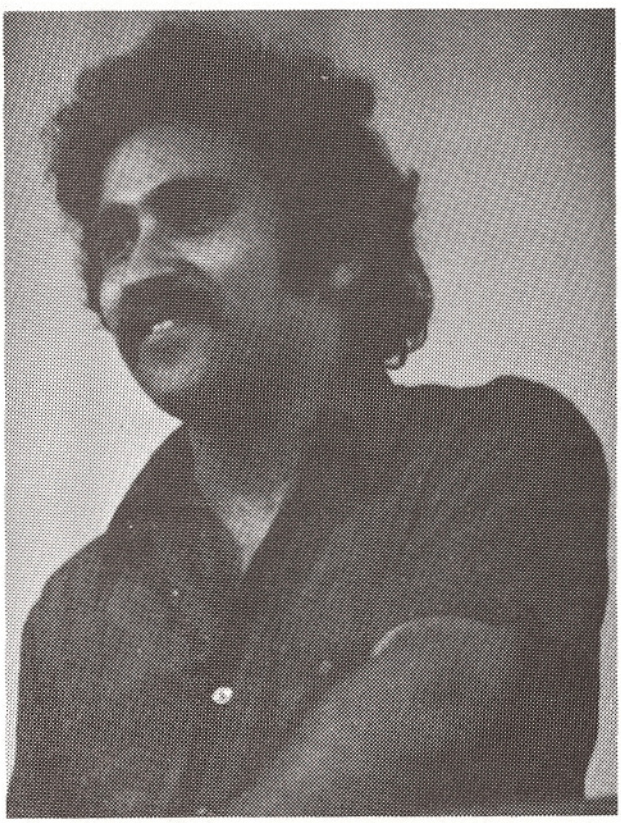
In an exclusive and lengthy *KEEP STRONG* interview with Alfredo Lopez, a leading and popular spokesperson for the oppressed community in New York City, a profoundly shocking vision of the "crisis" in that city emerged. According to Lopez, leading member of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, "The whole system of municipal government has been called into question with the introduction of the Emergency Financial Control Board, because under the EFCB, the government of New York City is now basically a powerless government." Indeed, the rise to power of the Emergency Financial Control Board and its plans for New York City would send shivers down the backs of those who witnessed the rise of Adolph Hitler in Germany.

THE EFCB

The Emergency Financial Control Board was bought into existence through what Lopez calls an "unarmed robbery" by the major banks in the city. The banks held various notes and loans and bonds from the city that were overdue or coming due, and they used the threat of bankrupting the city to call the shots. First, they forced the formation of a municipal action corporation, what came to be called the Big Mac, to begin to work out the financial future of the city. Then, when this body was too burdened with merely local business interests, these same banks, linked with large multi-national corporations, forced the formation of New York's Emergency Financial Control Board with veto power over almost any action the city can take.

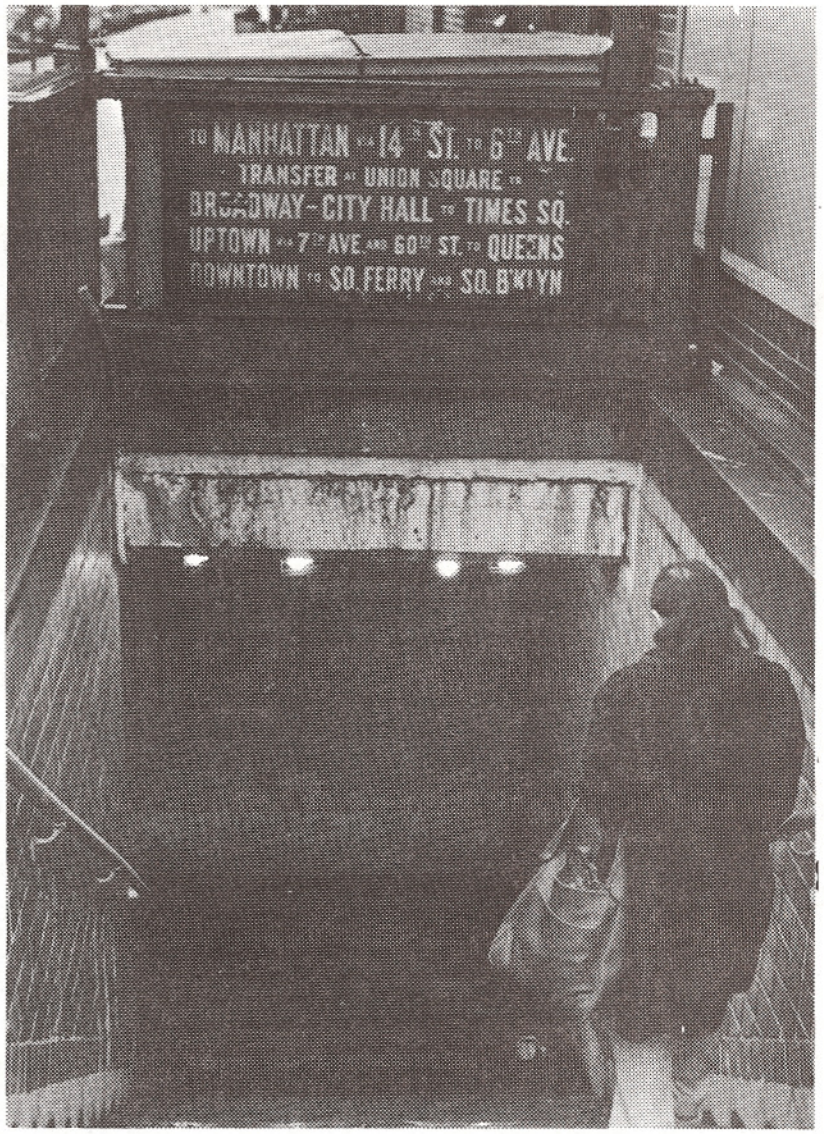
SMALL ELITE WITH BIG PLANS

The EFCB is composed of representatives of the large banks such as the First National City Bank and the Northern Trust, and the largest corporations such as IBM and ITT. This elite has laid out a policy to "cut" New York's budget.



Alfredo Lopez, leading member of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

Already the EFCB has vetoed contract after contract with labor unions representing city workers. The biggest cut coming from the EFCB will be in the city's welfare system. By reducing the city welfare system, at one time somewhat progressive, to federal standards, as many as two-thirds of those on current roles will be eliminated. Those who remain will receive substantial cuts in their checks. The EFCB plans the closing of the municipal hospital system, one of the largest in the country. The closing of these public hospitals will be made worse by the probable closing of several private hospitals in the next period.


MANHATTAN 14TH ST. 6TH AVE.
TRANSFER UNION SQUARE
BROADWAY-CITY HALL TIMES SQ.
UPTOWN 7TH AVE 60TH ST. QUEENS
DOWNTOWN SO. FERRY SO. B'KLYN

With the further elimination of "branch trains," like the AA trains, the hardest hit will be those from the Black, Latino and poor communities who will be left without public transportation during evening hours.

According to Lopez, "They're talking about elimination of half of the day care and community health care centers in the next two years." Public transportation costs will be raised another quarter, from 50 cents to 75 cents. "They would eliminate buses after 12 o'clock, and each subway line would run one train every hour after 12 o'clock. With the further elimination of "branch trains," like the AA train, the hardest hit will be those from the Black, Latino and poor communities who will be left without public transportation during evening hours. "No one is answering the question of how these people will get home."

The elimination of housing that was begun already in 1970 will amount in human terms to dislocating close to two million people. Already the traumatic effects of uprooting Puerto Rican families and moving them into formerly all-White neighborhoods are being felt in violent racial conflicts.

Alfredo Lopez's major point in this illuminating interview was that the process of "evacuation" according to city masterplans, of virtual genocide, has risen to a new stage in New York City. Whereas in other cities — like Oakland and Chicago — the community is battling the city government, in New York the city government is powerless. It has been disenfranchised.

"It (the Emergency Financial Control Board) is illegitimate, and if this is explained properly to the people of the city and they react properly, you can put on the table not only the self-determination of various communities, you can put on the table the actual self-determination of a city of people." According to Lopez, "We have to call into question the legitimacy of the EFCB. On the table also in 1977 is the total recall of the entire city council because they have not fought within the constitutional rights they have to protect their own right and their own duty to govern the city and to defend it."□

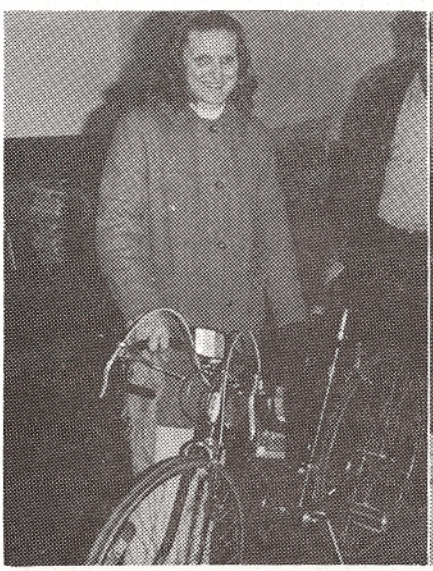
Fred Hampton/Mark Clark Hard Times Christmas Survival Program: Resounding Success

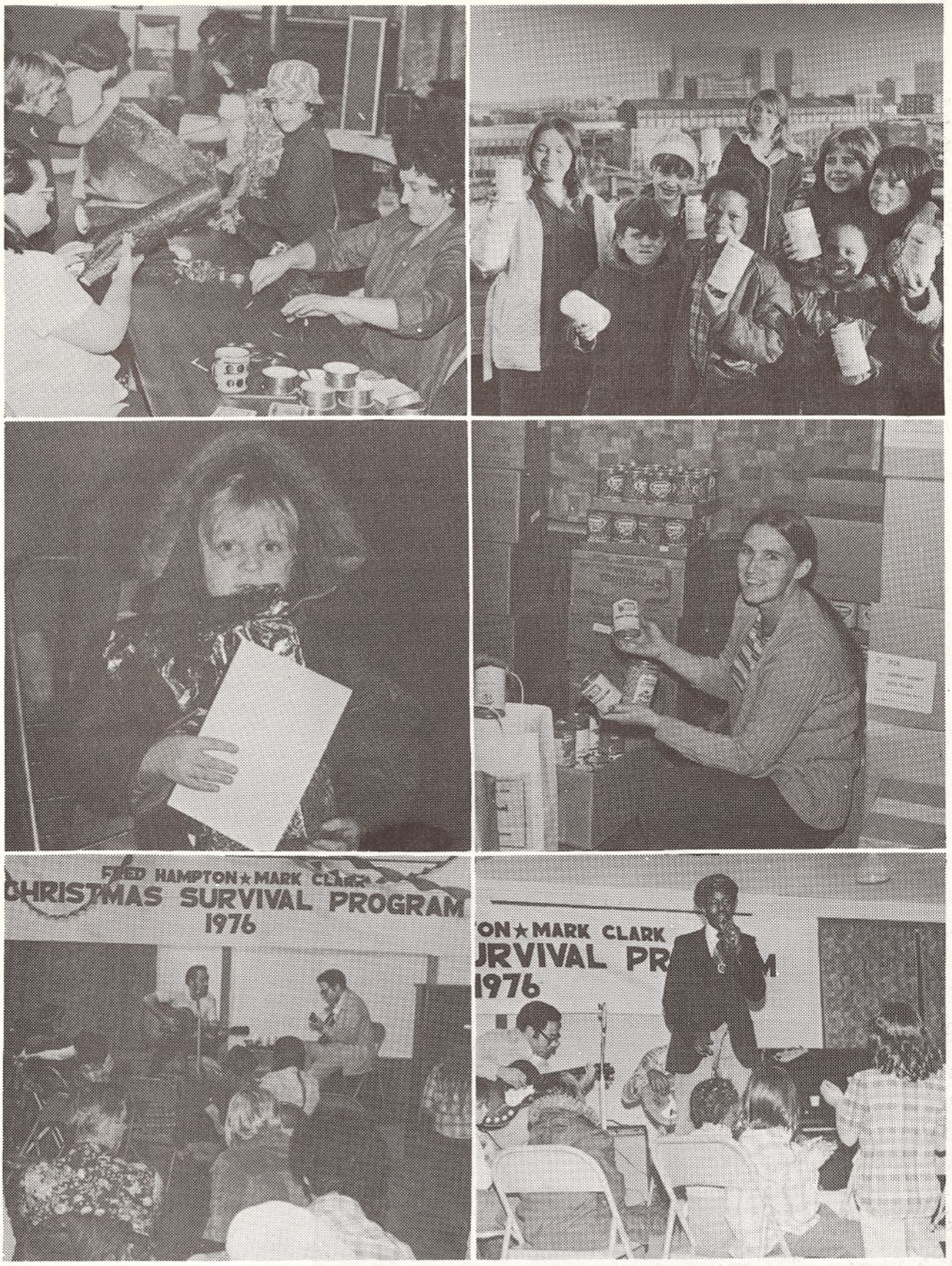
The 8th Annual Fred Hampton-Mark Clark Hard Times Christmas Survival Program took place in Chicago on Friday, December 24 as over 660 families came to the Fred Hampton Memorial Hall at 1222 W. Wilson. The pride and joy, the fulfillment of a People's Christmas could be seen on everyone's faces as each family who came received a big bag of groceries consisting of whole chickens, potatoes, tangerines, apples, a vegetable, jello, bread, cookies or pudding, and candy for their Christmas dinner. Each child 16 and under received a gift. Also, special gift packages of cheese, crackers, a fruit cake, nuts, in addition to the groceries were given to each senior citizen. In all over 2,000 children and over 200 seniors received gifts.

The program itself was the culmination of weeks of hard work, through the tireless efforts of hundreds of volunteers from the Uptown Tenants Survival Union and the Chicago Area Black Lung Association. Starting in late November, volunteers, primarily the youth, braved the brutal weather with donation cans to raise money; teams went store to store in the community to collect small donations; students at several schools helped put together drives to collect toys or food from their student bodies; pick-ups of donations were made all over the city; and finally a massive gift wrapping and food bagging operation got underway the week before Christmas. Everyone involved displayed boundless energy, spirit and determination, insuring that the youth of Uptown would have a good Christmas. The program was proof that the people unified can meet their objective needs.

In Milwaukee, Wisconsin where the program was held for the first time, over 300 families crowded in the Leslie Knutson VFW hall at 1135 W. Lapham to enjoy a delicious community dinner. The dinner consisted of ham, roast beef, turkey, chicken, rice, beans, various kinds of salads, and ice cream and cake. The meal was prepared by many of the women in the community with the help of quite a few neighborhood restaurants. Over 900 children received gifts.

As in Chicago, the program was the result of the efforts of many, many volunteers who raised funds through "canning" and collected donations from community businesses.□





Scenes of hard work, boundless energy, spirit and determination insuring that the youth of Uptown would have a good Christmas. Bottom photos show Harold Phillips and Paul Siegel (left) playing country music while Alvin Cash (right) pantomimes current popular tunes to the delight of his audience.

NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Jimmy Carter: "Mr. Inside" With Powerful Trilateral Commission

The following article is reprinted from the December 25, 1976 issue of the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service.

(San Francisco, Calif.) Mounting evidence suggests that smiling Jimmy Carter is less an "establishment outsider" than many people thought and than he himself led voters to believe during his campaign, the *San Francisco Examiner* reports in an exclusive expose.

Last week consumer advocate Ralph Nader criticized the President-elect's actual and prospective Cabinet choices as "conservatives, old-line establishment, traditional inhouse advocates for certain interests and completely main line." What Nader failed to point out is that Carter's ties with this establishment date back three years — to his membership in one of the most exclusive establishment fraternities in the country, an organization called the Trilateral Commission. He also failed to note that a preponderance of Carter's choices for high-level positions are members of the commission.

The Trilateral Commission is an exclusive association of the Western World's most powerful and influential individuals. The organization has 80 members each from Western Europe, North America and Japan, hence the name Trilateral. It was founded in 1973 under the aegis of David Rockefeller, chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank.

The Trilateral Commission is a true elite, comprised of what many have called America's "shadow government" — leaders in business,

Trilateral Commission: (top row] Zbigniew Brzezinski, Alden Clausen, Leonard Woodcock; (middle row)Walter Mondale, David Rockefeller, Cyrus Vance; (bottom row) Harold Brown, Paul Warneke, Michael Blumenthal.

industry, international finance and law. They move easily in and out of high positions in the private sector and government through a network of school, club and business associations. Zbigniew Brzezinski, a Rockefeller protege and a Carter supporter who was selected last week as the peanut farmer's national security advisor, was selected as its first director, and George Franklin, a Rockefeller associate, was named North American secretary.

According to several issues of the Commission's newsletter, *Trialogue*, its primary objective is to promote economic cooperation between the industrialized nations of the West as a means of counterbalancing the economic clout of the Arab-oil producing nations and the economic influence of the Soviet Union over the developing nations.

Some people, such as Tom Hayden, who ran unsuccessfully for U.S. Senate nomination from California, criticize trilateralism as "just another form of economic colonialism. "The basic idea is to act in concert to make the underdeveloped nations economically dependent upon the West — through grants, government and industry loans and investments," says Hayden.

Two of the top contenders for secretary of defense, former Air Force Secretary Harold Brown and former Assistant Secretary of Defense Paul Warneke, are members, as is Cyrus Vance, whom Carter has named secretary of state. They are heads of major multinational corporations, like Blumenthal of Bendix, J.K. Jamieson of Exxon and Hedley Donovan of Time, Inc., and former high government officials like Vance and former U.S. Attorney Elliot Richardson.

The commission's membership is a compendium of power and prestige, until one comes to the 16th name on the list: James Earl Carter, Jr. At the time the commission was formed, he was a Southern governor almost unknown outside of Georgia. What he did have was charm and ambition. And, following a 1971 *Time* magazine special issue on "The New South," which featured him on the cover, he also had an introduction to Time, Inc.'s Donovan.

According to one source at Time, Donovan was impressed with Carter, and recommended him to George Franklin. Whatever the reason Carter was invited to join, he made good use of his Commission membership during the campaign to bolster his knowledge in the field of foreign affairs and promote his candidacy.

Did Carter, who campaigned as an antipolitician with no ties to Washington establishment, misrepresent himself? So far, in his selection and consideration of individuals for the highest government posts, he has reached right to the heart of the establishment.

Already Carter seems to have backed off from his campaign commitments to a quick drop in the unemployment rate and opposition to immediate construction of the B-1 bomber. The Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill, that Carter endorsed ringingly at the Annual Caucus of Black Elected Officials in Charlotte, N.C., and in Black and working-class neighborhoods around the country, has become a back-burner item.

Instead, he said last week he hopes to be able to reduce unemployment by one and a half per cent by the end of his first term. As for the B-1, Carter's position has gone from firm opposition to immediate construction to "leaving open the options."

Was "Mr. Outside," really Mr. Inside all along?□

L.A. Conference Focuses On Police Brutality And Power Abuse

(Los Angeles, Calif.) "Police Brutality and Power Abuses!" was the topic of a well attended community meeting held here on Saturday, December 4, at Fremont High School, sponsored by the Coalition Against Police Abuse (CAPA) and the Greater Watts Justice Center. The conference, moderated by CAPA co-chairperson Bob Duren, featured speakers and workshops on topics related to police brutality and community control of the police.

Guest speakers included Larry E. Williams, directing attorney of the Greater Watts Justice Center, a community organization that defends predominantly Black and poor people accused of committing crimes against police officers as well as victims of police brutality; Mrs. Mattie Shepherd, the crusading mother of Tyrone Guyton; and Ericka Huggins, a leading member of the Black Panther Party who is director of the model, elementary level Oakland Community

Participants in the Los Angeles Conference on Police Brutality were (left to right) Larry Williams, Bob Duren, Ericka Huggins and Mrs. Mattie Shepherd.

School and a member of the Alameda County Board of Education.

Williams, the first speaker, explained that clients of the Greater Watts Justice Center have been falsely charged with beating police officers, which he described as a "favorite tactic" of police. What generally happens, Williams said, is that the police beat up a person and then claim that they (the police) were beaten by the accused.

Ericka Huggins was the next speaker, and she detailed some of the Party's history over the past 10 years, particularly in Los Angeles where she and her late husband, John Huggins, were among the first members of the Southern California Chapter of the BPP organized in early 1968 by Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter. (Bunchy and John were assassinated at UCLA on January 17, 1969.)

"When the Black Panther Party was formed in October, 1966," Ericka said, "there was a sense of hope for Black and poor people. Huey P. Newton stood alone and said that people had the human right of self-defense."

Relating the Party's $100 million class action lawsuit against several federal agencies to BPP history over the last 10 years, Ericka explained, "The Party has been saying for 10 years that the U.S. government will not allow poor people to organize. As Black nationalists, yes; as people interested in the cultures of their various backgrounds, yes...

"But when the Black Panther Party began saying that this country was exploiting Black people, that there truly was a line between the haves and have nots, that everything is based on the distribution of wealth and that Black people have nothing but slums, the government began to be frightened. It said that the Black Panther Party was the greatest threat to internal security in America.

Commenting on the "subtle oppression" endured by Black people in America — "it's so easy to be bought in this country" — Ericka declared that, "We must free our minds and determine our own destiny. We must never forget the Bunchy Carters, John Hugginses, Fred Hamptons, Malcolm X's, Martin Luther Kings and Tyrone Guytons, the people who strived for what was deserved by our very birth.

"This should be the beginning of an organized effort in Los Angeles where the most horrendous police department in America exists...Let the CAPA conference be the beginning of something good for the people of Los Angeles, something that will spread across the country."

Following Ericka, Mrs. Mattie Shepherd spoke on the need for such organizations as the Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton and CAPA. "I stand here as a witness of what police brutality can do in the communities in which we live," she told the conference. "We have been able to spread the news that police brutality is wrong. These cops...ought to be put behind bars and given a dose of their own medicine. They look at us and wonder what's next, but we *know*

what's next.

"I feel that through CAPA, justice will be sought. We are not just fighting police brutality. We are fighting oppression. I would like to say to all oppressed people, pick up a big dose of hope; pick up a big dose of confidence...Support CAPA. Believe that you can get justice."□

Reprinted from The Black Panther

U.S. Indicts Four Who Counsel Undocumented Workers

(Tucson, Ariz.) Four women including a nun, employed by El Concilio Manzo (the Manzo Area Council), a community based social service center here which serves the large Mexicano population on Tucson's west side, have been indicted by a federal grand jury for giving aid to undocumented workers. The "Manzo Four" begin trial in March, 1977, and their case is considered to be a landmark in deciding the future of immigration counseling centers throughout the country.

Specific charges against the women include their failure to report undocumented clients to INS officials, unlawfully copying citizenship papers, conspiracy, transporting "illegal" aliens (offering a ride to a woman going to apply for a marriage license) and giving false statements.

Manzo Director Margo Cowan.

The indictments followed a raid last April by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) as part of its national attack on undocumented Mexicans. Manzo director Margo Cowan calls it "part of a calculated plan to stop people from legalizing their status and to begin mass deportation of Manzo clients." During the raid, described by one attorney as an "extreme action you would expect in a fascist state," the INS seized 750 files including confidential records on senior citizens and the drug abuse program and arrested 50 persons who were at Manzo seeking counseling and services. The raid also resulted in the deportation of 20 families seeking to legalize their status through Manzo. Since the raid the American Civil Liberties Union has assisted the Council in obtaining a court hearing to investigate the disappearance of 282 files seized by the government. Assistant U.S. Attorney William Vogel maintains, however, that the confiscated files will help the government determine if Manzo workers helped "illegals find jobs, avoid inspection or apply for welfare or food stamps."

The Manzo center, funded by the Committee for Economic Opportunity, focuses its counseling on undocumented workers who have "equity"—for example, someone who has a U.S. born child or spouse. The government insists that nothing can be done with undocumented workers except to send them back to their country of origin until the necessary paperwork is done. If the government succeeds in convicting the Manzo Four they face a maximum total of 166 years in prison and $213,500 in fines.

The Manzo Defense Fund is asking that telegrams and letters demanding that the government drop all charges be sent to U.S. Attorney William Smitherman, La Placita Village, Tucson, Arizona, with copies to Manzo Defense Fund, 1025 North Grande Avenue, Tucson, Arizona 85705.

Meanwhile, in southern California INS raids have increased in regularity and magnitude. Several raids were conducted last month that followed the newly established pattern. In each case 300 to 400 workers have been literally rounded up and shipped out. Most recent techniques include surrounding a factory with INS agents. An agent and van is stationed at each entrance or exit. Men and women, without their papers on them, or with none at all, are then taken to these vans as additional INS agents circulate inside the plant checking ID's. In most cases those picked up are deported within 24 hours giving them no opportunity to contact family, friends or legal counsel.□

INTERCOMMUNAL PERSPECTIVE

Ford Statehood Proposal For P.R. Attempts To Sabotage Independence Movement

In a surprise move before leaving office, President Gerald Ford has announced that he will recommend to Congress that Puerto Rico be made the 51st state. To become law, his proposal requires a majority of both houses and approval by the majority of the island's residents. Members of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and other supporters of the independence movement have denounced Ford's move as "an attempt to sabotage the disposition of the United Nations which points to the sovereignty of the Puerto Rican people."

Ford's announcement was timed to coincide with the upcoming inauguration of the Puerto Rican governor-elect Carlos Romero Barcelo, who won 48.3% of the vote in November. His campaign was managed by the political consulting firm of Douglas Bailey and John Deardourff, also active in President Ford's campaign. However, it appears that Ford's action is also intended to postpone further consideration by the United Nations of the colonial status of Puerto Rico, and to discourage the growing national and international support for the Puerto Rican independence movement and the release of the five nationalist prisoners.

Puerto Rico has been a colony of the United States since 1898 when it was conquered by the U.S. in the imperialist Spanish-American war. In 1917 Puerto Rico was designated a "territory" and Puerto Ricans granted citizenship. "Citizenship" meant sending a non-voting delegate to the U.S. Congress and exclusion from voting for president. Under colonial status Puerto Rico's economy has been totally dominated by multinational U.S. corporations which gross $800 million in profits annually and for the most part do not pay taxes. Predictably, the standard of living on the island has been severely affected; unemployment, estimated to be more than 33%, has resulted in forced migration of more than 40% of the population. Other consequences of U.S. control include the sterilization of more than 35% of the female population as Puerto Rican women were used as guinea pigs by the U.S. medical profession to test the effects of birth control on the human body.

Since Puerto Rico became a colony of the U.S., Congress has intentionally tried to suppress the independence movement. In 1948 Congress passed Law#53 which made it illegal to demonstrate or speak out for Puerto Rican independence. In 1950, following a popular uprising favoring independence, the U.S. military bombed the island and jailed many "independistas." It was this brutal repression which led the five nationalists to enter the halls of Congress demanding independence. During a referendum in 1952, Puerto Ricans were given a choice only between traditional colonial and commonwealth status. Supporters of the independence movement point out that the referendum was carried out while Puerto Rico was under U.S. military occupation and many of the

The movement for Puerto Rican independence has a long history and growing momentum.

"independistas" were in jail.

This fall (see *KEEP STRONG*; Oct., 1976) the U.S. succeeded in further postponing the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization in its plan to take up the status of Puerto Rico. In 1972, the U.N. resolution had declared that Puerto Rico was a colony of the United States under the U.N. Declaration for the Independence of Colonial Countries and Peoples, Resolution 1514. This important resolution broadened its definition of colonialism to include "all territories which have not yet attained independence."

A White House spokesman, commenting on the Ford proposal, stated that his action "might be interpreted as an indication to Cuba's Fidel Castro that we value Puerto Rico and won't allow any tampering there." This suggests that the Ford action is an attempt to repress the possibility of establishing an independent socialist state on the island.

Meanwhile, as Ford makes his proposal for statehood, a resolution is pending in Congress, introduced by Congressman Ron Dellums (D-Calif.) last July. This resolution calls for all branches of government, including the armed services, to cease using their powers and authorities over the territory of Puerto Rico, "in order to allow them to fully exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence."□

Mexican Land Ordered Returned To Private Farmers And Landowners

In early December a Mexican federal judge overturned former President Luis Echeverria Alvarez's expropriation of 250,000 acres of farmlands for peasants in the state of Sonora and ordered the land returned to its former owners. Titles to the land were ordered given to the impoverished peasants in Sonora by President Echeverria on November 19, three weeks before he turned the presidency over to Jose Lopez Portillo.

An intense land dispute was touched off after 243,100 acres of land in the rich Yaqui Valley was expropriated and divided among 8,037 *campesino* farm families. Echeverria, who had promised to redistribute the farmland before leaving office, said that 72 families illegally held the Yaqui Valley acres in violation of the Mexican Constitution, which stipulates that individual farmers may possess only 250 acres of land. Yaqui Valley grows nearly 45 per cent of Mexico's wheat and produces much of its beef cattle.

While landless peasants throughout the Yaqui Valley have seized land, the industrialists have also been on the move. In late November landless peasants seized 858,000 acres of crop and grazing land in Durango. Benito Arrendondo Naverette, secretary general of the Durango State Workers' and Farmers' Federation, told reporters that 2,000 peasants had moved onto 20 different land parcels representing a total of 858,229 acres in north central Durango. "If the landowners use violence to get us off, we will respond in kind," Arrendondo said.

Meanwhile, protesting the government expropriation of "their" land, Mexican industrialists and businessmen conducted a one-day strike in 41 cities throughout the country on November 24. Carlos Spanow, president of the Sonora Chamber of Commerce, said that the Mexican business community believes land expropriation is part of an overall government plan to turn Mexico into a collective state. Using the same arguments as that of California growers who defeated Proposition 14, the farmworkers' initiative, in the November elections, Spanow said, "we are supporting the farmers because we think private property is the main pillar of freedom."

The ruling by Mexico City federal judge Carlos de Silva y Nava was made six days after Mr. Lopez Portillo succeeded Mr. Echeverria in early December. In a still unexplained procedure, it was not announced by the court or by the government, but by Ignacio Burgoa, a lawyer who represents the affected private farmers and landowners in Sonora. Much of the agricultural land in Mexico is owned by transnational and U.S. corporations. This fact has been the source of much discontent among peasants who were forced off their lands to impoverished slums in the cities as these companies took more and more of the land.

"Those lands expropriated in Sonora will never be given back to the hands of the rich landowners," Juan Rodriguez Gomez, head of the General Union of Mexican Workers and Peasants, said. "Those who support these land barons are provoking an armed uprising throughout the nation."□

U.S. Vietnam Vets Serve As Mercenaries In Rhodesian Army

An estimated 400 Vietnam veterans from the U.S. are fighting along side the Rhodesian Army against the Black liberation forces, the *Los Angeles Times* reported last month. The 400 Americans are part of the estimated 1,000 foreign mercenaries — described as "foreign volunteers" by the Rhodesian Army — from West Germany, Canada, Greece, the Netherlands, Australia, Portugal, France, New Zealand, Britain and Sweden currently in the military and police forces of the White minority Rhodesian government.

According to Major Nick Lamprecht, the chief recruiting officer for the American mercenaries, the men have an enthusiasm about fighting communism. They don't want to see a repeat of what happened in Vietnam." Most of the Americans have been recruited within the last eight months. Their motives vary.

A 30-year-old captain from Auburn, Alabama, who said he is a "Disraeli conservative" (Disraeli was prime minister of Great Britain during the latter part of the nineteenth century), told the *L.A. Times*, "I came to Rhodesia six months ago because I believe our policy toward Rhodesia is all wrong. This country is important to us and one of the few friends we have in Africa, yet we are doing everything possible to ruin it."

Other American recruits admit that they volunteered for service in Rhodesia because of the advertisement in such American magazines as *Soldier of Fortune*, which describe the four-year-old armed liberation struggle as "adventure in the sun."

A Canadian recruit, Corporal Matthew Lamb, who recently died in action in Rhodesia, has proved to be an embarrassment to the Rhodesian Army. Lamb became a mercenary soldier in Rhodesia following his release from a mental institution where he spent six years after being judged "criminally insane." Canadian officials revealed that in 1967 Lamb stepped out from behind a tree near a bus stop, and killed two bystanders. He was released from the mental institution in 1974 and came to Rhodesia, his family and friends said, because he could not get a job at home.

Lamprecht denies that the Americans are mercenaries. "This talk of mercenaries does our image no good at all. We are a proud and unified fighting force," he said. The pay scale for the mercenaries ranges from $7,600 a year for lieutenants, $6,400 for sergeants and $4,000 for privates.

Under U.S. law, American citizens who serve in a foreign army may lose their citizenship. Thus far, the U.S. government has not prosecuted any Americans serving in the Rhodesian Army or police force.□

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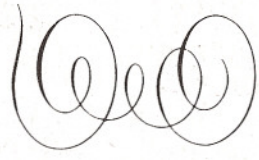

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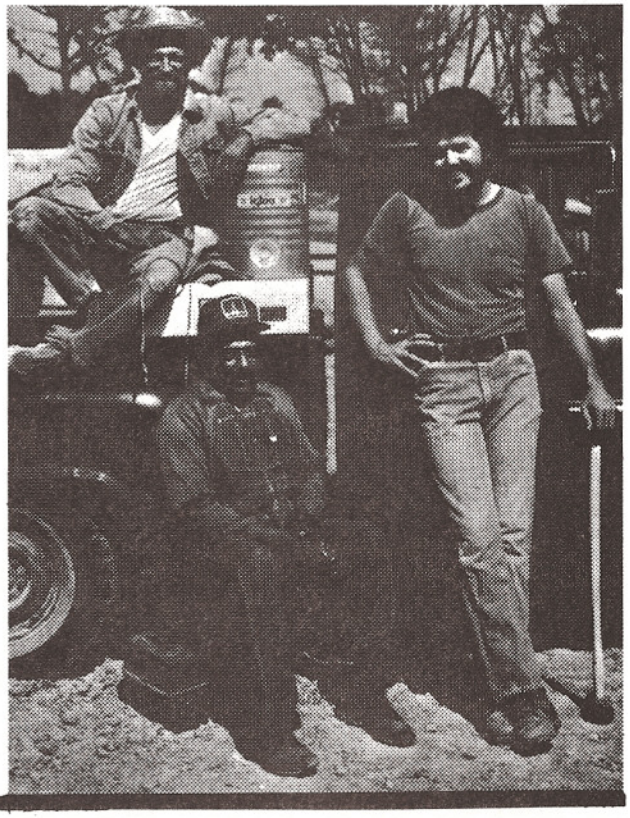
FROM: Us Out Here

Now we like Merle Haggard because he sings real lonely. And Tanya Tucker would turn anybody on. We even put up with Mary K. Place or whatever her name is. But we do not live in hotels in Nashville. We like the music because it helps us pass the time along and has some good feelings to it from time to time. But we'd like to call your attention to a recording artist that you don't even seem to play. His name is James Talley. You know we do spend a lot of time thinking about who is with who doing what to who for what. And we do drink and carry on. But Talley sings some songs which while they are often sad give us some room to let our inside thoughts come out and stand around in. And that helps. You see, while we do act dumb sometimes, there are reasons. There are reasons for the suffering, and sometimes we would like to know that somebody knows about it. If you haven't heard his album, "Trying Like the Devil," why not pick one up. Listen to it. Then play it between advertisements, once or twice.

Jesse Green



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I'm a black lung miner
From east Tennessee.
I raised my family on coal dust and beans,
But the old black lung's got to me,
No life left in me...
Set my lantern in the window,
Give my love to Marie.

For twenty-five years
I've worked in the mines,
Where the earth is as black as a cold winter night.
There's millions in the ground
But not a penny for me...
Set my lantern in the window,
Give my love to Marie.

I've loved all my children,
Six sons of mine,
And I pray they never must work in the mine,

For the black lung will get them,
They'll die just like me...
Set my lantern in the window,
Give my love to Marie.

There's frost on the ground,
Ice in the trees.
The air is so heavy I can't hardly breathe.
Yeah, this old black lung's got me
But soon I'll be free...
Set my lantern in the window,
Give my love to Marie.

Tag

Set my lantern in the window,
Give my love to Marie.

SHE TRIES NOT TO CRY

Laurie, she tries not to cry
For she knows the kids don't realize,
But now and then her mind starts to wander
Back to the east Kentucky line.
And she thinks of her mama and her papa,
And the friends and the kin she left behind—
There in the shadow of the mountains,
And Lord, it's enough to make you cry—

CHORUS

No, the sun don't shine
On the forest pine in Cleveland,
And the redbird don't greet the mornin' light,
And the moon looks so lost up in Cleveland,
And the stars, they don't shine at night.

But I couldn't find no work in east Kentucky
And at least I've got a factory job at night.
Six nights a week I'm workin' here in Cleveland,
And sometimes I think I want to die—

Repeat CHORUS

Oh, I wish we could go back to east Kentucky,
There's got to be a better way of life.
But now and then I really have to wonder...
Lord, it's enough to make you cry.

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INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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